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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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VOL. XII. No. 75.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1903

PRICE TWO CENTS

ECHOES OF THE DEBATE

THAT DID NOT TAKE PLACE BETWEEN O'FHEILLY AND MAC-CARTNEY.

The Hero Who "Swallowed His Words" and Grew Pale on His Feet" Finds a Defender, Who Answered in a Way That Meets With Approval.

N. Abington, Mass., Feb. 15.—Enclosed find the latest echoes of the debate that did not take place between Fred MacCartney and Jere O'Fheilly. They consist of a series of communications and a pair of editorial comments in the Rockland weekly newspapers.

The first is an editorial comment in the Rockland Free Press of January the 23, as follows:

"A Word of Complaint.
You will not omit to read the poem by J. Q. T. and the letter from a correspondent using the name Cyrus Blake. Each presents suggestions regarding the challenge issued by Mr. MacCartney and accepted by Mr. O'Fheilly.

"Without intention to criticize, and without desire to question the good motives of the contributors above named, it seems but fair, and in justice to Mr. MacCartney and Mr. O'Fheilly, to observe in a complaining way, that the writers have not properly sized up the issue. A careful reading of their articles—though a poem is hardly an article—leads one to think that they were not in a serious mood. They seem to see fun in the business.

"To issue a challenge is a momentous act. To accept it is like momentous. Further, the public interest in the question at stake is serious, profound, almost pretty solemn. It is hoped that future communications will have a more sober cast, and seem more respectful of public feeling."

Then follow the poem and the letter referred to by the Press, with another from the pen of Comrade Jeremiah Devine:

"Our Hero's Slide.
Ho, warden, what of the knight?
So bravely, so boldly, our hero stood forth,
So loudly he spoke that we felt
That he would be rash who ventured to clash
With the blows that our warrior could
I challenge them all, in a clarion tone,
He shouted his words to the sky;
But alas, and alack, woe's me and
Oh, how he fell, when he slipped on the ice,
Just then Perry O. happened by.

"And Jerry was learned in all of the things
Over which Freddy Mac was just flopping his wings;
The edges of 'fame' he could find in the dark,
And people would shell out their ears and say 'Hark!'
When Jerry would tell how his party was right,
On the edge of the street and the edge of the night,
The gambler thrown down by our hero he grabbed,
The skyward tossed challenged he speedily nabbed,
He even would pay half the bill for the hall,
That the people might hear, without cost, Freddy fall.

"So bravely, so boldly, our hero stood forth,
So loudly he spoke that we felt,
That he would be rash who would venture to clash
With the blows that our warrior could
But ah! for our hero, and oh! for our
He seemed to be jammed by a word to the ropes—
He longed to get out of the way.

"He quoted the language of Honest John L.
Let him and his party betake them to—
Let them go, get a good reputation, and
They may talk on these problems like men and with men.
They have stolen our votes through deception in names—
Jim jans are jim jans though you call them 'Jim jans.'"

"Woe, woe, for our hero, he squawked and squeaked;
He swallowed his words and grew pale on the floor;
The challenge so grandly he threw was thrown back,
Our hero's bold optics are circled in black.
There's a crape on our hearts, and deep gloom in our eyes,
And the tears we let fall are encased in surprise.
Oh, warden, dear Fred, say 'tis all a mistake,
That you're ready to give Jerry O. a good shake."

That you did not mean just what you said when you spoke,—
'Twas only a little thing meant for a joke.

Arise in your might and give Jerry a lick,
Enough to make him and his party quite sick,
And then will we hail you with shouts a rod long,
And tell of your greatness in prose and in song.
Plough off the deep grief from our cardiac nerves,
Give Jerry some beautiful upper-cut curves,
And show all the world that the challenge you made
Was not a vain thing for an evening's parade.
So bravely, so boldly, so well you stood forth,
Our poor hearts are likely to burst,
Unless we behold you, in all of your might,
Stand forth, and likewise standing first.

"J. Q. T."
To the Editor:
I have read with interest all the recent effusions in the local papers in regard to the proposed debate between Rep. F. O. MacCartney of this town and Jere O'Fheilly of Abington, and if allowable I would like to say a few words on that subject.

Now I know Mr. O'Fheilly as he is, an able, strenuous, consistent man; a natural orator and a born debater; a man of the people and one accustomed to meeting and surmounting all obstacles solely by the power of his indomitable will. Such is the man who has challenged our representative, not the shallow-pated, soft-headed individual some people would have us believe him to be.

Then Mr. MacCartney also is entitled to the highest regard of all good citizens, a friend of the workman, tried and true. His voice and vote are ever raised for the best interests of our district. Never has he faltered in the path of duty, and that he has the confidence of the people was clearly proven last November.

Whether MacCartney's party is right, or whether O'Fheilly's is wrong, is not for me to say, but this much is true—that there can be no gain to either party or to the public by such a meeting as is proposed. Besides, such a useless waste of gas at the present cost of fuel would be almost criminal.

Come, gentlemen, call it quits. This uncertainty is becoming more terrible than the coal strike or the early closing of the stores. The public demands a settlement, and to this end I propose that a board of arbitration be appointed by Selectman Townsend, to hear evidence, weigh it, and in some way settle this discussion.

I would specify further that this board consist of five members from the following organizations. One original Cleveland Democrat, one member of the Webster Club, one member of the Rockland fire department, one member of the Abington police force, one member of the Halifax Debating society.

Hoping this will meet with the approval of the two contestants, I am,
Yours for peace at any price,
Cyrus Blake,
Union street, Rockland.

"To the Editor:
The people of Rockland and vicinity, while discussing the merits of Mr. O'Fheilly and Mr. MacCartney, pro and con, should not lose sight of the following details in the matter of the debate, which did not take place.

"First. Mr. O'Fheilly, in taking up the challenge issued by Mr. MacCartney, clearly stated that 'a debate might be arranged between any member of the Socialist and the Socialist Labor parties.' If Mr. MacCartney did not want to meet a man 'without a reputation,' he might have been accommodated with another man. The S. L. P. would have been willing to import any of their speakers, to suit the supporters of Mr. MacCartney, if our local galaxy was not satisfactory to them.

"Second. While the S. L. P. was in reality the challenged party, we were ready to waive any privileges accruing to such a position, and, in fact, granted such privileges to the other side.

"Third. The debate, if it did take place, would not hinge upon the personal qualities of either of the disputants, but upon the merits of the parties in question. For instance, their beauty, fine clothes, education, etc., should not be discussed.

"Fourth. It should be remembered that in the debate with Mr. Keens, Mr. MacCartney did not call for the reputation of his opponent, and he was perfectly well aware that Mr. Keens had no following.

"In fact, it makes a difference whether it be play, or a real debate.
Yours respectfully,
Jeremiah Devine."

"North Abington, Jan. 5, 1903."

Blake's letter evoked the following response from Jere O'Fheilly:

"To the Editor:

"A communication signed by Cyrus Blake (undated) in your paper of Jan. 9, (Continued on page 6.)

ACT TWO OF THE SYRACUSE THREE-CENT FARE COMEDY.

It Becomes a Tragedy in Which the Working Class is Slaughtered by Blind Leaders—"The Power of Organized Labor" Demonstrated to Be Almost Nil.

Special to The Daily People.

The second act in the farce known as "the three-cent fare," was turned into a tragedy against the working class at a meeting of the common council last night. The committee from the trades assembly, Yates, Williams and Waack, were present, besides many other local fakirs. The common council chamber was crowded and standing room was at a premium. All the aldermen in the city, nineteen in number, were present. The Republicans have the majority.

The Republican mayor vetoed the franchise of the Rapid Transit Street Car Company, that refused a concession giving the working class a three-cent fare during certain hours each day. The Rapid Transit company wanted the veto overridden, and, of course, their efforts were successful.

The so-called labor committee had claimed from the hill-tops that they would have enough votes to sustain the mayor's veto. They went begging from one alderman to another. They cringed, they crawled and threatened boycott, and did anything that was necessary to get votes and they got—three.

The mayor's veto was read. The motion to disapprove was made. The president put the motion and then a hearing was allowed to any one for or against. And as no one responded (not even a labor leader) the president closed the hearing to outsiders.

Alderman Matty (would-be Democratic candidate for mayor) opened the ball in the first of the street car company. (This is the same Matty who, during the street car strike, about three or four years ago, jumped on the platform of one of the cars at the car-barn and shouted that he would run the car if he had to do it over the bodies of men, women and children.) He showed that the mayor was not sincere in his fight for three-cent fares.

Matty came out for true capitalism, for he said "Why does he veto this franchise, in the face of the manufacturing and business interests, as represented by the Chamber of Commerce? As I said before, they pleaded, they begged the mayor and this body that this franchise be granted. The press in its entirety has pleaded that this franchise be granted for the good of Syracuse."

Who are the manufacturers? What class does the Chamber of Commerce represent? Who owns the press?

The manufacturers are the skimmers of labor, and it does not make any difference whether it is the labor of men, women or children. The Chamber of Commerce is made up of those men, and the daily press is their official organ. The delegates from the trades assembly cannot see this because they build on the principle "that the interests of capital and labor are identical."

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"To the Editor:

"A communication signed by Cyrus Blake (undated) in your paper of Jan. 9, (Continued on page 6.)

S. L. P. Vote in 1902.
Completer returns of the Socialist Labor Party vote having come in since the publication of the list last December, it is given below with the corrected figures, which raise the S. L. P. vote to 53,617.

STATES.	1902.	1900.
California	207	109
Colorado	1,349	714
Connecticut	669	908
Illinois	8,235	1,373
Indiana	1,756	663
Kentucky	335	390
Massachusetts	6,079	2,610
Michigan	1,282	903
Minnesota	2,570	1,329
Missouri	969	1,294
New Jersey	2,332	2,074
New York	15,886	12,622
Ohio	2,083	1,688
Pennsylvania	5,262	2,936
Rhode Island	1,283	1,423
Texas	428	162
Virginia	157	169
Washington	824	1,066
Wisconsin	701	531
Totals	53,617	32,944

FORESTALLING WAGE DEMAND.

Street Railroad Company Grants Increase That is Not Satisfactory to Employees.

Special to The Daily People.

North Abington, Mass., February 19.—The Old Colony Street Railway Company has posted a notice to this effect:

On and after March 1, 1903, conductors and motormen who have been or who may enter the employ of the company, will receive an increase of wages, as follows:

Those who have been in the employ of the company less than 1 year, 20 cents per hour; over one year and less than 2 years, 21 cents per hour; 2 years and less than 4 years, 22 cents per hour; 4 years and less than 7 years, 23 cents per hour; 7 years and less than 10 years, 24 cents per hour; 10 years and over, 25 cents per hour.

The company informs the employees that "the details which logically follow the above changes will be worked out to the mutual satisfaction of all interests."

"Manufacturers and merchants can grant an increase of wages by advancing the prices of their wares, but we cannot charge more than a five-cent fare, except by permission of the legislature."

Then comes the plea for co-operation and thanks to the men who have been in our employ, who have attained skill, and hoping for "uninterrupted friendly relations" in the future as in the past.

The most of the men would rather have had the minimum wage fixed at 22-1/2 cents per hour, and as the old scale was 20 cents all round, this is the fairest; but that would be really more of an increase than the one "granted."

One of them said "if the union accepts this advance it is a d—d poor union."

Other employees have not been raised.

Should the Bible be read in the public schools? This question is now agitating the otherwise staid citizens of Utica, N. Y.

If the Bible is read in the light of science there can be no objection to the proposed innovation, for then the poison will carry with it its own antidote.

Capitalist territorial expansion is a great civilizer. The French traders are forcing the natives in the New Hebrides islands into slavery. What with the wholesale desertion of native wives by American soldiers in the Philippines, who will doubt the beneficence of capitalism?

Of the day the company would only lose \$160, leaving a net income of \$500 a day.

One of the aldermen called Yates attention to the fact that the street car bonds out of that.

What difference does it make to the working class who this profit is divided with? It should not make any difference to them whether the employer pockets the full amount or whether it has to be divided with a dozen bankers. Yates and his associates were supposed to be there looking after labor's interests. But he did not know enough to make this point. Why not? Because he was blinded by the notion "capital and labor are brothers," the principle that makes beggars of all the wealth producers that are organized in the American Federation of Labor.

The session closed by the vote to override the veto. And what do we find? First, Mayor Kline is with organized labor solidly, for three-cent fares. The local labor leaders, straining every nerve, cringing, crawling, and threatening, were, up to the last, sure the mayor's veto would be sustained. But now that the curtain has dropped the capitalist mayor comes to the footlights and has this to say: "I am not surprised at the action of the common council in killing the veto. I am not an advocate of three-cent fares, but I thought that was one way to bring the company around to the idea that they should give to the city a cash payment for the franchise."

This shows that Kline used organized labor, through the labor fakirs, to help Kline, and not to get three-cent fares for the working class. If he did it was a secondary consideration. The fight started as a farce and was ended by the labor fakir getting his just deserts—the boots.

WHERE DID HE GET IT?

HAVE THOMAS AND BANDLOW MONEY IN THE BANKS, TOO?

"Tom" Johnson Makes Startling Disclosures Before the Cleveland Trades Council That Involve the "Hanna Socialists"—Corruption Charged.

Special to The Daily People.

Cleveland, O., Feb. 17.—A black eye for Michael Goldsmith—a member of the low-fare committee of the United Trades and Labor Council, which reported adversely to 3-cent fare railways and favorably to an extension of street railway franchises from 1903 to 1914—"a sad but glorious day," in other words, an overwhelming defeat for Harry Thomas—member of the low-fare committee and Kangaroo Socialist candidate for Mayor Johnson's shoes—and a partial victory with a decided sting attached to it, for Max S. Hayes—late Kangaroo Socialist candidate for secretary of State—were the net results of a general "Jamboree," mis-called a meeting of the United Trades and Labor Council last Wednesday night.

Mayor Johnson went before the Allied Trades and Labor Council to back up his charges that the report of the low-fare committee was partly or wholly made out in the offices of Squires, Sanders & Dempsey, attorneys for Mark Hanna and the Little Consolidated Street Railway Company, of which Senator Hanna is the chief owner and stockholder.

At the end of a meeting that for excitement has seldom been equalled in this city, the members of the council adopted a resolution calling for municipal ownership to replace the report of the low-fare committee.

This action had the effect of throwing the report of the committee on the street railway question into the scrap basket (alas, poor Bandlow and Thomas!) and it cannot be brought up again unless, under a vote to reconsider, the entire matter.

A moment before the final action a tremendous effort to have the delegates express a vote of confidence in the members of the low-fare committee failed.

Instead, a motion to have this phase of the matter postponed until an investigating committee had looked into the question and rendered a report carried.

This action of the delegates to the council was taken in spite of the fact that the mayor did not attempt to state positively that the report was written in the offices of the attorneys of the Little Consolidated Street Railway Company. Instead, the mayor went into a discussion of the entire report and showed internal evidences to the effect that the committee had received assistance from some skilled attorneys. The mayor attempted to cast personal reflections on but one member of the committee. That was the above mentioned Michael Goldsmith.

The mayor read from manuscripts. When he had completed his review of the report he went into a statement bearing directly on the charges. He said: "I believe that I have made a clear case of the matter, which, on the face of it, ought to put you on your guard. The case is now up to you for settlement. I am now about to say a few things in which I desire not to unjustly reflect upon or injure any member of this committee. But I would like to ask a member of your committee (Harry Thomas' and Bobby Bandlow's committee. Oh! Lord!) one or two questions. I would like to ask this member of the committee whether he has lately had any large sums of money paid to him."

"Michael Goldsmith, have you had any large sums of money paid to you recently, either of \$500, \$1500 or \$2500?" "Yes," came the reply from Goldsmith.

The question and answer caused the most intense excitement among the delegates. Those present in the hall were fairly overwhelmed and the stillness that followed the asking and answering of the question was almost painful. A second later the mayor continued:

"Where did you get that money what? Where did you get that money and what were you doing so often during the holidays around the offices of the president of the Little Consolidated?" "None of your business," responded Goldsmith promptly.

The relaxation of the feelings of the delegates at this juncture in the proceedings was expressed in something like a drawn-out sigh. When those present settled down to the same fairly oppressive silence as the mayor continued:

"I want to state that in what I am about to say, if it is not so, then I need more than your contempt and Mr. Goldsmith has action against me for personal damages."

"I charge that near the end of last July Mr. Goldsmith made a deposit in the Cleveland National Bank of \$500,

and that two days after the report of your low-fare committee was made he made a deposit in the same bank of \$1250. I believe myself that these deposits are in some way related to the report of the committee, although I am not attempting to cast reflections on the members of that committee. Now, gentlemen, you have my whole case."

In the midst of the demonstration that followed the last words of the mayor, Goldsmith secured the attention of his right bower and bosom friend, President Southimer (president by the grace of Kangaroo votes), and gained the privilege of the floor. He said:

"I am going to prove to you that some one has been handing out gold bricks. I want to state that the mayor of this city stood on the public highway and said that the report submitted by your committee was written in the offices of Squire, Sanders & Dempsey. Now he says that he has not a scrap of real evidence that such is the case."

At this juncture Goldsmith commenced to read from notes used by the committee in the preparation of the report in an attempt to refute some of the statements of the mayor made in his manuscript discussion of the question. He took issue with the mayor with reference to matters pertaining to the rate of wages paid street railway employees in different cities. He had hardly got into this matter before he was interrupted by one of the delegates with the objection that he was not talking to the point.

"Are you working for Tom Johnson?" asked Goldsmith hotly of the delegate. "I am a carpenter and a member of the Carpenter's Union and do not know Tom Johnson, and I do not hang around the offices of Hanna," replied the delegate. When the noise had subsided, Goldsmith continued.

"I did deposit money in the bank. But have I not the right the same as any other American citizen to deposit sums of money in the bank. At the proper time I will explain all of my actions to the satisfaction of the mayor and until such time I have the right to expect that the members of this council will rely upon my word every bit as much as they rely upon the word of the mayor."

President Southimer (Mickey's friend), then addressed the mayor, saying:

"It is of vital importance that you tell us what facts you have in your possession to the effect that the report in question was largely drawn up in the offices of Squires, Sanders & Dempsey."

To this the mayor replied that the charges as made by him in the Plain Dealer of January 23, were absolutely correct. The mayor then added that in the course of the public discussion of the matter the facts in the case had become somewhat distorted. He then, at the request of the delegates, read the article in the Plain Dealer, which contained the original charges made in the interview with the mayor. At the conclusion of the reading the mayor said:

"I have tried in my discussion of the matter to show that the report was a magnificently constructed article, and that, as a brief in behalf of the street railway interests of the city, it has seldom, if ever, been surpassed. I want to say to the members of that committee that if they can produce such briefs as the one in question that they can earn large sums of money from great business houses, for such ability is just the thing that great corporations are looking for. I have tried in my discussion of the matter to make good, and to warn you that your organization is being made a cat's-paw of."

After Stewart, a nondescript member of the low-fare committee, had tried to defend himself from the attacks of the mayor, the Right Honorable Kangaroo Socialist (?) candidate for mayor rose to a standing posture. He defended the clause in the report which recommended the extension of street railway franchises from 1903 to 1914, thus proclaiming himself to the citizens of Cleveland, whom he asks to vote for him for mayor, to be a fraud; or in other words, a contradiction in terms, namely: a 11-year franchise Socialist (?).

An hour of debate, or rather wrangling, followed, in which every effort was made to get the members of the United (?) Trades and Labor Council to stand by the committee. The attempt, however, failed.

The end came when Kangaroo Max Hayes stepped into the arena and decided the whole matter.

He called down the condemnation of the council upon the whole affair and said that the Republican committee was already using the report for political purposes by circulating copies of the same. He then made a motion to the effect that the whole matter be thrown into the waste basket and that another resolution, indorsing municipal ownership only, be voted upon. In the midst of much confusion and calls for adjournment the substitute resolution of Hayes was passed.

Thus did Max slap his partners, Bandlow and Thomas, in the face and seek to effect the social revolution by a trick. It certainly was a "sad but glorious day" for the Kangaroos.

DEBS' "CUCUMBERS"

THEY ARE NOT THE CAUSE OF HIS ILLNESS THIS TIME.

A "Few" Drinks Did It, According to His Own Explanation As Given by a Capitalist Newspaper of Grand Rapids, Michigan.

The Grand Rapids, Mich., Evening Press, of February 17, publishes the following:

TOOK A FEW DRINKS.

Eugene V. Debs' Explanation of His Condition—Dazed on the Stage—Audience Left Auditorium and Speaker Put to Bed—Was to Have Lectured in the Battalion Course—What He Said This Morning.

It was not cucumbers this time. It was just a terrific struggle. Rather the pitiable struggle of a great mind—a mind that was the dominating power in one of the greatest labor difficulties in the history of this country, groping wildly, for a well-known and well worn pathway, while 600 persons looked on or turned away in disgust from the spectacle. It was to have been "Industrial Evolution," but when the last of the audience precipitated itself into the cold night atmosphere and when Eugene Victor Debs had been snugly ensconced in his bed, no one could see aught but a great, temperance lecture in the eighth of the Grand Rapids Battalion course.

The unfortunate affair last night has fallen like a damper upon the entertainment committee of the battalion. Debs' lecture was scheduled for one of the top-notch events of the course, and when he failed to put in an appearance yesterday afternoon, the committee began to fear the developments in the evening. The committee made the rounds of the hotels and the depots, but Debs was not to be found, and not until 8.10 did he put in an appearance at the stage door of the Auditorium. Some of the committee were there to greet him, and the excessive joy of the great labor leader to see and greet everyone in the room was taken as a bad omen.

"Better go on with the lecture, hadn't we?" he gurgled, and one of the committee, appreciative of his condition, asked if he felt like making the effort.

He made an effort.

"Mos' shurely, mos' shurely," Swat I came to Grand Rapids for," went on Debs, and the committee stood aside as he walked up on the stage. "Some persons can do best when they're half seas over," explained one of the committee, and to do him credit, Debs made a grand effort at the start. For five minutes he kept to his line of thought, but there came the stumbling place and his grasp relaxed. Then the struggle began. A sentence here and there of the lecture would come back to the befuddled brain of the speaker and he would brace himself for a new effort, only to lose the train of his argument once more. Again and again he sought for the words and logic he knew so well and after ten minutes of the unequal battle, the opening paragraph of his peroration was recalled and with a grand burst of eloquence the lecture closed. A low bow and a flourish was bestowed upon the few who remained in the house, and Eugene V. Debs made his way airily to the wings. A few minutes later he was sleeping in room 308 at the Livingston.

Different in the Morning.

He was still sleeping at 9.30 this morning, and the bell boy failed to rouse him. A few minutes later a second call resulted in an answer, and the labor leader of yesterday looked at the card of the Press representative and told him to call in thirty minutes. Twenty minutes later Eugene V. Debs, clad in dress trousers, a heavy overcoat and small cap, ran rapidly down the stairway and disappeared out of the side door of the hotel. The coat collar was turned up and none but the careful observer would have recognized Debs. He walked rapidly south on South Division street and there ensued a walking match between the labor leader and the Press. At Cherry street Debs was overhauled. He turned abruptly and reached out his right hand. The Press representative got one of those hand clasps that helped Eugene Debs to gain fame and fortune and the smile never left his face when the purpose of the errand was made known.

"Yes," said he, "I was under the weather last night. I am sorry to say, you see, I came all the way from Barre, Vt., and the weather has been severely cold. The cars were imperfectly heated and when I arrived at 3 o'clock yesterday afternoon I was all but exhausted with fatigue and cold. I don't drink; haven't in fact for many years, and I took a little to warm me up. It got the better of me and that's about all there is to it. I'm just taking a little walk now."

To members of the committee this morning expressed sorrow that the unfortunate affair should have happened.

THE LANDLORD

To Abolish Him Would Not Benefit the Workers.

There are many people who imagine that all would be well in society were it not for the landlord. The landlord, they claim, not only sucks the blood of labor, but capital as well. It is their theory that if the landlord was removed, the wealth that now goes to him would remain, not only with the capitalists, but the workers as well. To argue thus, shows a complete ignorance of the capitalist system of production.

The capitalist class does no manner of productive work and yet it reaps the wealth. From whence does the capitalist class then derive its income? From the necessity of the worker. The worker must sell his labor power or starve.

The capitalist class owns all the things needed to produce the necessities of life. The railroads, the mines, the factories, etc., are the private property of a comparatively small number of people. As the working class owns none of these necessities, all of which it needs to labor with, it must sell itself to the class that does own them.

When the capitalist buys the labor power of a workingman he does so only because the worker will produce more than he is paid for. If the capitalist had to pay the worker as much as he, the worker, produced, the business would not "pay"; there would be no profit.

The capitalist buys the labor power of the worker the same as he buys pig iron, hides or any other commodity, and the price of labor power is governed by the same laws that govern the price of other commodities—the cost of production in human exertion. The food, clothing and shelter of the worker, all produced by human labor power, from the basis of the price of labor power, or, as it is generally called, wages.

Wages, then, are that part of the product of labor which the capitalist pays to the workingman out of the proceeds of that workingman's own production. Say, for instance, that a worker produces value to the extent of \$4 a day, and get \$1 in wages. That dollar is taken out of the wealth that he, himself, produces, while the capitalist pockets the other three dollars. That surplus value created by the worker is called profit.

No doubt the capitalist would gladly keep every penny of this surplus value, but some of it he must yield up to the forces that enable him to exploit the worker. In other words, the capitalist is compelled to "divide"—but not with the worker.

The State or government must get its "share." This it does through taxation. In order to keep the worker down, the vast machinery of modern government, with its courts, police, militia, jails, penitentiaries and reformatories, must be supported by the capitalist. The workingman is not robbed through taxation. High taxes or low taxes, his wage is just enough to keep him in a more or less fit condition to work. The workingman is robbed in the shop.

If any one has a grievance against the landlord it is the capitalist. It must be understood that the profits of the capitalist is the wealth stolen from labor, less just enough in the shape of wages to enable the toiler to live. The larger the amount needed to keep the worker on the subsistence level, the smaller must be the profits of the capitalist. If tenement rent is high, the wages of the worker must enable them to pay it, or the worker won't be able to live where it is convenient for the capitalist to exploit him.

If rent was reduced away below the present figure, what effect would it have on the well being of the worker? None, and for very good reason. Anything that diminishes the cost of living—cheaper food, clothing, or rent—makes it possible for the worker to do with less wages. And when a worker can do with less, who ever heard of a capitalist paying him more? Any "reform" that would reduce rent could not benefit the worker. If rent were entirely abolished the worker would be fit just the same condition as before.

Anyway the identity of capitalist and landlord are becoming more and more blended every day. The manufacturer usually owns the land on which his factory stands. The steel trust owns most of the iron mines, the coal companies own mines and railroads. The companies that operate the bonanza farms own the land they cultivate.

Many large concerns owning no land in the big cities purchase sites in rural places to establish factories, the railroads giving them practically as good facilities to markets as in the cities. Sweet shops, cigar shops, etc., are moving out to suburban places because the lower rentals enables them to pay less wages to their workmen.

Occasionally one runs across a theorist, who will tell you, that by levying a tax, the single tax, on land revenues, what social evils exist will be cured. He will tell you that the capitalist and worker do not sustain toward each other the relationship of fleecer and fleeced, but that of mutual sufferers—both robbed by the landlord. This, he will tell you, despite the fact that the capitalist of to-day has risen superior to the landlord, who was the power in social systems previous to the present one. In the early development of capitalism, landlordism tried to keep it down, but capitalism gained the mastery. In England the descendants of the old feudal barons are to-day successful brewers, bankers, and traders. In many instances their estates, instead of

being a source of revenue, are pleasure places where they revel in the wealth stolen from labor.

The single taxer will tell you that his scheme will give the workingman a chance to get at natural opportunities. For the sake of argument, let us grant this, but how could the worker take the advantage of such opportunities? Without capital—the machinery of production—to apply to such resources, he would be as advantageously situated as a man in mid-ocean in an open boat without sails or oars! The single taxer does not seem to know that there has grown up to-day the expression "land poor," i. e., owning land, but lacking capital.

The profits of the capitalist, being, as shown above, that portion of the worker's wealth over and above the wage needed to keep him alive, what difference would it make to him whether that stolen wealth was paid in rent to the State or to private individuals?

Scratch a single taxer and you find a capitalist sympathizer. The exploitation of the worker and all that flows therefrom he does not consider an evil at all. A single taxer had the ignorance to tell the writer that the scheme would raise wages, and increase the "earnings" of the capitalist!

But, let us again, for the sake of argument, agree that land would be rendered easier of access to the worker, what then would be the result. Not as the single taxer imagines: "The raising of wages, increased earnings of capital, extirpation of pauperism, abolition of poverty, remunerative employment," etc., etc. The result would be that whatever miserable existence the worker could eke out of it, with his bare hands, would become the standard of living for him!

Imagine, if you can, how "equal to all" the opportunities to obtain land would be under the capitalist State—with which, by the way, the single taxer has no fault to find.

Wage worker, who is penniless, and capitalist, who has millions, apply to the State, the only landlord, would they fare alike? No, the State would have to be even more exacting than any landlord is to-day. It would have no other source of revenue. Wage worker, who, of course, had no financial standing, wouldn't be allowed to take up a valuable holding, and even if he could, having no capital, he could not use the land. What then could he do? Sell himself to the capitalist just as he does to-day, and that is the "brilliant" theory called the single tax.

As the "free silver" reformer has in mind the time of the "dollar of our dad-dies," so to the single taxer has in mind a past condition. He sighs for the days of "ten acres and a mule."

But, under the inexorable operation of the laws of capitalism, and with capitalism no "reformer" finds fault, there can be no going backward. Underlying the conditions under which we suffer, is the class ownership of the means of production which we must use to live. Instead of a means for the production of all that would tend to our comfort, these things are to-day a means for our enslavement. We cannot change these conditions of the middle ages, nor would we try it. Nor do we propose to let the present system pull us back to barbarism. We shall shake off the baneful burden, the capitalist, and with the land and the implements of production in our own hands, for our own collective use, shall enjoy the peace, plenty and happiness that has been the dream of humanity.

Our American Tour.

In resuming the editorship of this paper after his return from America the Editor wishes to convey, through these columns, his appreciation of the cordial and generous manner in which our comrades of the Socialist Labor Party of America received and treated him as a representative of the Socialist Republican Party of Ireland. From New York to San Francisco, and from Kentucky to Canada he met on all hands true comradeship and true revolutionary spirit; joy at welcoming a fighter for the good cause, but joy that manifestly depended upon the quality of the fight offered, and the understanding of the principles fought for.

He thinks that he satisfied the S. L. P. that the Socialists of Ireland know their business, and he for his part is satisfied that the S. L. P. takes the correct attitude when it assumes that the Socialist Labor Party of the United States is the one party in that country which most fully understands the line of march, and whose component elements are least likely to swerve from it for any consideration.

We do not like to mention names where so many are deserving of praise, but we cannot refrain from commending our comrade Henry Kuhn for the marvellous energy and skill in organizing, of which we got so many glimpses throughout the course of our tour. That one man should do the work of three as this man does is marvellous enough, but that through it all he should preserve his equanimity and evenness of temper undisturbed was more surprising still, especially as we do not shine in that respect ourselves.

"On the tour generally we are of opinion that successful as it was it would have been even more successful from a financial point of view had it taken place earlier in the year, and when an election rush is on. This would have enabled us to take the country a little more leisurely, with weekly breathing spaces, and have thus made possible more open air meetings and the consequent saving of half rent in all but the larger cities.

But we will attend to that—next time.—James Connolly, in The Workers' Republic, for February.

POLITICAL WANDERINGS

With a Few Rambles Into Religious Byways.

The other day in talking with an acquaintance who is a trade unionist, referring to the so-called "Socialist Party," he said: "Well, they are doing your party a service. Anyone who joins and finds them to be what you claim, would surely desert them and support your party. Meanwhile you can thank the fake Socialists, as you call them, for having first interested your recruits in the movement."

There may be some truth in this observation, but it is certain that a man coming direct from the Republican or Democratic parties to the S. L. P. is more fortunate for himself and is better material for the Party than one who has been wandering through the swamps of reform or the jungle of fake-Socialism. Such a man is fortunate for himself, inasmuch as the fire of enthusiasm has not been wasted in vain and fruitless effort. He is good material for the Party because his mind has not been warped by the vain imaginings that pass for principles.

The hurrah business of the old parties leaves little or no lasting impression on the mind. It is mostly an emotional appeal to the supposedly self interest of the voters. Between campaigns nothing much is done and what there is of organization is kept alive by the leaders as a quasi-social affair. On the other hand, if a man becomes interested in "reform" or fake Socialism, reads their insidious literature, listens to the sophistry of their speakers and becomes imbued with their false teachings, he develops a state of mind filled with contradictions and twofistifications which, must afterward be undone before he is of use to such a movement as that conducted by the S. L. P.

All teachers recognize the necessity of beginning right, and for them, the hardest pupil is one who has proceeded along wrong lines in the belief that he was on the right path. To both teacher and pupil the work of overcoming the impressions of false teaching is a long and arduous task.

It is remarkable how easily mankind is fooled by appearances. Cheap phrases and specious arguments are the stock in trade of all reformers and the greatest lure to dupes is the hope of fakirs; but that which serves as the immediate success. To those who have never chased after this will-o'-the-wisp, the political wanderings of one who has may not be without interest.

So far as home influence goes I should have been a Republican. But sometimes it is as natural to go against home influences as with them. Anyway, I never took to the Republican party. The George movement was the first "radicalism" in politics that attracted my attention, but the recollection of it is vague.

Two of those early impressions linger, however. One was, that among the forty or fifty men with whom I worked, but one man expressed any sympathy with Georgeism, and he was a gentleman of shady reputation. This man had run crooked games in the West and played the religious hypocrite in the East. He was afterward arrested for abusing a political office to which he had been appointed. There was nothing in society or morals that this man respected, and as I understood in a vague way, that George was endeavoring to overthrow society, I appreciated my fellow worker's enthusiasm for him.

The second thing that impressed me with Georgeism was the fact that a Roman Catholic priest played so important a part in it. Reared in an up-State village where Catholics were few, except when they came in the summer as servants of the rich, we were much more bigoted than those who lived where the creeds were more equally divided. Not only that, there being no creed more intolerant of others than the faith bequeathed by John Knox, we had a superstitious horror of the Catholic superstition. McGlynn's connection with Georgeism, then, could be nothing more nor less than an attempt by the Catholic Church to control American politics, at least so I then thought. After McGlynn had broken with the Church I often went to hear him.

Like many more I fell under the spell of that mysterious influence that was somehow evoked in behalf of the Stuffed Prophet of Buffalo. In the last year of his first term I spent a week in Washington and among other sightsees attended a reception to the public given by Grover. With all the enthusiasm of a Mahometan, I repaired to the White House. As the line entered the building and wound round the reception room the devotee looked eagerly for the embodiment of civic virtue. The kind friend acting as conductor, divining the thought, nodded her head and said: "There he is." Looking in the direction indicated, I saw at the further end of the room, a squat, unprepossessing figure, clad in a baggy suit and totally unlike the hero of my fancy, and not even suggestive of the idealized pictures so familiar at that time. Nothing daunted, the pilgrim remained in the line and soon had grasped what seemed to be a boneless hand, which exhibited as much vigor as though made of putty. As the attendant hustled the line along the pilgrim uttered some expression of loyalty to tariff reform, and was rewarded with a smile that partook of the same characteristics as the handshake.

The hurrah business of the Cleveland and Thurman campaign carried me off my feet. On a raw, disagreeable day

we paraded up Broadway in yelling thousands, shouting until hoarse:

"Don't, don't be afraid."

"Tariff reform is not free trade!"

The Republicans who lined the sidewalks had a sort of taunting refrain. They would yell:

"Ma, ma, where's my pa?"

Yells of defiance greeted this until some genius in our ranks answered:

"Up in the White House, ha! ha! ha!"

As one man we took up this retort and hurled it at the Republican shouters. It seemed to weaken the vigor of their attack.

We were long waiting to fall in line, and the day being disagreeable, warmth and cheer were sought in artificial heaters. The contents of hip-pockets were appealed to so often, that when we finally started it was only the closeness of the ranks that kept some of the marchers upright. It was near dark when we passed the reviewing stand. Waving our hats and yelling, we passed before the sphinx of Democracy and I recalled at the time the picture of the hurrahing troops passing in review before the great Napoleon!

The fly in the ointment that day was the fact that we of the Railway and Steamship division had to hurry back to work. Some of the companies had furnished us with flags and banners. The Republican parade was held the next week and those same flags and banners did service on that occasion also. Stowed away somewhere I have a bandana handkerchief as a memento of that day. I believe Thurman, the Noble Old Roman, never used any other kind of a nose wipe.

It was during the next year that I began to give some serious thought to religion and to question it on all sides. Children, as is natural, accept whatever is told them about religion the same as about other things. A stricter discipline than governed most children prevailed with us. I had to be able to repeat the Sunday-school lesson from memory each Sunday before leaving for the school. It often happened that I was the only one who came prepared. This brought embarrassing compliments from teachers and superintendents. Not being a goody goody, and influenced by the opinions of other boys, I felt with them that there was no great distinction in knowing a Sunday-school lesson.

One of the books of my boyhood days was a history of the sufferings of the Scottish Covenanters, and their heroic resistance against oppression. This book had more influence on me than the Bible. With the poems and songs of Robert Burns I had been familiar from the cradle. About the time that I looked into the question of belief, a copy of Burns' works was given to me. The dialect in which it was written was no bar and soon I was reveling in such poems as "The Holy Fair," "Holy Willie's Prayer," "Address to the Deil," etc. I soon saw that the poet in his day had found it necessary to castigate the Church founded by the martyrs.

The doctrines of John Knox are logical up to one point. Man has no control over his destiny; then why bother about it at all? Presbyterianism is gloomy at best, and its cornerstone is: "God's Will." Whatever your lot on earth, be content. There is no getting away from it. You were predestined to it. It is God's will.

To one who does not know how, this doctrine had brutalized the minds of men there cannot be full appreciation of the great service rendered by Burns. He released the natural humor of the people, and let it be freely used upon the clergy. He made it possible for men to smile in the presence of the dreaded divines. Under this influence I, too, came to look upon preachers as dispensers of "aud wives' fables." To those not familiar with Burns I cannot do better than quote the first verse of "Holy Willie's Prayer" as an illustration of the poet's satire and a concise summing up of the grand old dogma of election:

O, Thou, who in the heavens dost dwell, sent all that stood for American fidelity, what as it pleases best thyself, Sends me to heaven and ten to hell, A' for Thy glory.

And no for any gude or ill They've done afore thee!

But Burns was not only interesting because he launched forth against the inconsistencies and abuses of religion. The church also taught an economic doctrine. She told the peasantry that the heavenly king had delegated to the laird the temporal power; to the minister, the spiritual. The people proved their faith by continual toil and privation to provide for both of the Lord's anointed. No wonder the church has never forgiven Burns and has done her best to heap obloquy on his memory.

Through the agency of a friend a copy of Paine's "Age of Reason" came my way. This book is valuable as showing the great amount of contradictory matter there is in the infallible book. Needless to say I followed it up by extensive reading of everything I could get on the subject. At this time I might have developed into a free-thinking crank but for an incident that now took place and turned my thoughts in another direction.

(To be continued next week.)

The worker is deceived by appearances. The employer, or his representative, hands him his wage. The worker does not stop to think what that wage is; that before he gets any wage he must create wealth. Even if the capitalist paid wages in advance it would be out of wealth stolen from labor. Labor creates all wealth, and without labor there is no wealth created. When the workers are wise enough to take possession they will provide themselves with work. Instead of a miserable wage pittance from a capitalist, they will get all the wealth they produce.

BANK CONSOLIDATION

Financial Interests Brought Under One Control by the Process.

Within the past ten years there has been in progress something in the nature of a consolidation of banking interests. This process has resulted in certain large institutions extending control over other banks and thereby forming groups of institutions under one control. It has also found expression in the enlargement of certain individual banks as to capital and surplus. Another form in which its activity has shown itself is the creation of new trust companies and the enlarged interest of trust companies in purely banking business. The effect of these various developments has been uniform, and it has been largely to concentrate in a few hands the direction and administration of institutions together governing the disposition of an extraordinary mass of credit.

Ten years ago there were two banks in New York that had a capital of \$5,000,000; one that had a capital of \$2,000,000 and one of \$3,000,000. The total capitalization of the sixty-four members of the clearing house was \$60,422,700. To-day there is one bank having a capital of \$25,000,000 and three that have a capital of \$10,000,000 each. The fifty-eight members of the clearing house have a total capitalization of \$109,651,900. Thus while there has been a reduction of six in the number of banks, there has been an increase of \$49,229,200 in their capital.

But the concentration of banking is shown in a more striking way by the item of outstanding loans. Ten years ago of the total of loans reported by the clearing house, \$464,910,200, eight leading banks made \$168,664,700, or about 36 per cent. of the whole. Last Saturday the clearing house reported outstanding loans of \$924,958,600, of which \$439,708,900 were made by the six leading banks, or over 47 per cent. of the whole.

In New York there are now seven great groups or chain of banks, trust companies and insurance companies. These groups, in some cases, represent common ownership and in others such an alliance of interests that the various institutions are controlled practically under a common policy. The tendency is for the large banks to control by ownership several smaller banks and to be in close alliance with one or more trust companies. The seven groups, to which reference has been made, may be classed as follows:

Group 1: Amount of loans outstanding: National City Bank, \$129,213,000; Second National Bank, \$9,427,000; Lincoln National Bank, \$9,896,000; Bank of the Metropolis, \$7,892,800; National Citizens' Bank, \$6,014,700; National Butchers' and Drovers', \$2,807,800; Fidelity Bank, \$662,650; United States Trust Company, \$50,744,873; Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, \$32,744,873; New York Life and Trust Company, \$15,090,862; Central R. B. and Trust Company, \$12,097,550. Total, \$276,592,708.

Group 2: Hanover National Bank, \$48,529,200; New York National Exchange Bank, \$3,725,900; Greenwich Bank, \$1,932,200; Trust Company of America, \$12,283,800. Total, \$66,472,190.

Group 3: Equitable Life, \$17,621,000; Western National Bank, \$50,189,500; Mercantile Trust Company, \$45,235,705; Equitable Trust Company, \$12,895,712. Total, \$123,941,917.

Group 4: Mutual Life Insurance Company, \$10,278,000; National Bank of Commerce, \$76,820,000; Morton Trust Company, \$37,880,876; Guaranty Trust Company, \$18,321,976; Fifth Avenue Trust Company, \$9,723,580; United States Mortgage and Trust Company, \$9,066,559. Total, \$161,605,991.

Group 5: First National Bank, \$82,932,200; Chase National Bank, \$39,096,000; Liberty National Bank, \$9,055,500; Astor National Bank, \$4,686,000; Manhattan Trust Company, \$8,058,474. Total, \$143,828,174.

Group 6: National Park Bank, \$32,076,000; Mount Morris Bank, \$2,176,575; Mutual Bank, \$2,354,375; Plaza Bank, \$3,024,840; Yorkville Bank, \$1,208,600; Colonial Trust Company, \$14,809,488. Total, \$75,649,778.

Group 7: National Bank of North America, \$16,856,700; Mercantile National Bank, \$13,180,700; Garfield National Bank, \$7,208,500; Seventh National Bank, \$6,557,200; National Broadway Bank, \$6,779,100; Bank of New Amsterdam, \$6,878,800; Fourteenth Street Bank, \$1,794,451; Gansevoort Bank, \$1,538,265; Hamilton Bank, \$1,810,164; Twentieth Ward Bank, \$1,532,719; Thirtieth Ward Bank, \$1,548,376; Varick Bank, \$760,213; Knickerbocker Trust Company, \$28,115,473; City Trust Company, \$11,166,677. Total, \$105,787,438.

SUMMARY:
Group 1: \$276,592,708; 2, \$66,472,190; 3, \$123,941,917; 4, \$161,605,991; 5, \$143,828,174; 6, \$75,649,778; 7, \$105,787,438. Grand total, \$895,878,196.

It should be noted that between Group 1 and Group 2 there is a close bond of business interests, and they are often classed together. There is a tie also between groups 4 and 5. The insurance companies are, for instance, united in the Western National Bank. Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co. have affiliations with three of the groups, viz., that of the First National Bank, that of the Bank of Commerce, and, in a measure, that of the National City Bank. The Standard Oil Company is, of course, affiliated with the National City Bank and the Hanover National Bank groups. The seventh group, the largest in number of institutions,

though not in the amount of loans, is the so-called "Ice Trust" group.

In many respects, the evolution outlined in the foregoing figures is more remarkable and, perhaps, more important than the great evolution in industrial finances of the past few years. It may be that the high organization of credit will tend to prevent panics in the time to come. It may be that it will have quite the contrary result. In any event, it is clear that its effect for good or ill upon the destinies of those who are accustomed to use credit in their business will be very far-reaching.

VAMPIRES.

Ohio "Philanthropists" Conspire to Import Child Labor.

The Massillon Iron and Steel Co., H. A. Croxton, manager, and the officers of the Wooster Glass Co., given in following letter, have made a serious mistake in trying to conspire with Hugo Standke to violate State and national laws.

"All agreements are contingent upon strikes, accidents and other delays unavoidable or beyond our control."

"THE WOOSTER GLASS CO.
"Factory at Wooster, Ohio. Manufacturers of high pressure bottles. J. F. Pocock, president; R. A. Pocock, vice-president; H. F. Pocock, secretary and general manager; J. C. Haring, treasurer; L. J. Kerrigan, superintendent.

"Massillon, O., Feb. 3, 1903.
"Mr. Standke, Steamship, Agent, Canton, O.

"Dear Sir—Your name has been given us by the Massillon Iron and Steel Co. as an importer of Hungarians. We started our factory about a month ago and we are very short of boy labor. We would like to have in the neighborhood of thirty boys, ranging in age from twelve to eighteen years. In case you can furnish the families we will give the fathers work at \$1.50 per day and the boys from 60 cents to \$1.00 a day according to their age. Kindly let us hear from you as we already have houses ready for their occupancy.

"Yours very truly,
"The Wooster Glass Co.
"H. F. Pocock, sec."

It is with regret that we find it necessary to expose a vile plot to not only violate the child labor laws of Ohio but also to violate the contract labor laws of the United States, and these violations to be carried on upon a wholesale plan.

Will we permit the black stain of child slavery to be stamped upon our social calendar? Our reporter learned that the city of Wooster gave these human sharks a bonus to erect and operate this plant, with the hope that it would be a benefit to the community.

Are the citizens of Wooster willing to have their communities' financial conditions improved by the plunder of weak and defenseless children?

Are the citizens of Wooster willing to enter into a plot to defeat State and National laws? We feel sure that they are not and since they have been contributors to the establishment of the Wooster Glass Co. they should be the most severe in a protest against the greed of the hungry gluttons who are acting as managers.

Strange plight of affairs when children are employed. This is practiced to a great extent throughout the United States, the great, enlightened, free, prosperity swamped, United States, as in the case of The National Biscuit Co. and others, so that our so-called prosperity may continue to reign.

Can any one question now but that the Pocock gang are criminals in the eyes of the law and criminals in the eyes of a just public? Yet many of them are well connected religiously, fraternally, socially; of course they would be—they have the money. It matters not if it was ground from the flesh and bones of innocent children.

They have the houses ready for occupancy. Sure! Perhaps they have the company store ready. It would make the game of robbery complete. It would make the scheme of prosperity perfect.

We are informed that at the present time this band of philanthropists are working children under the legal age in their Massillon plant.

Prosperity? Sham and mockery.

Will the organization of Stark county, refrain from raising a voice in protest that will reach the ears of our law makers and awaken them to their sense of duty? No! By all that we hold sacred for the men and women who toil and sweat, such crime and sin shall be wiped out of our midst by the best and quickest means possible. The end is not yet.—The Craftsman, Canton, Ohio.

The stand taken by unions against the militia is growing more emphatic. The Hartford Painters and Decorators' Union has forced one of its members to retire from service. They censured him for going to Waterbury with the troops on the ground that in doing so he arrayed himself against organized labor and violated the rules of the union.

While this is a hopeful sign of the working class awakening to its interests, it is not enough. The same attitude must logically be taken toward all the enemies of labor, especially those "labor leaders" who favor the political parties of capitalism that direct the militia against the working class.

The old trade union idea of fighting "capital with capital" has been abandoned by Tobin. In starting that Boston stitching room, he is fighting labor with capital. He is taking a leaf from his master's book in their interest.

COMRADES!
Patronize those who patronize your organ. The Daily People. Whenever you have a purchase to make, give the preference to the firms using the Daily People's advertising columns. And don't forget to mention the paper when making the purchase.

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Entered as second-class matter at the New York postoffice, July 13, 1900.

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned, if so desired, and stamps are enclosed.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888.....2,060
In 1892.....21,157
In 1896.....36,584
In 1900.....34,191
In 1902.....53,617

Socialist Vote in New Jersey.

West Hoboken, Feb. 21.—The official returns give the Socialist Labor Party vote in this State as 2,332, distributed as follows:

Essex County.....813
Hudson County.....973
Passaic County.....354
Union County.....192

Total.....2,332

The Daily People's list credits New Jersey with only 1,918 votes. It is entitled to 414 more.

PRESIDENT BAER ANTICIPATED BY ARISTOPHANES.

"Herbert Spencer in his last book says: 'Those who, joining a trade union, surrender their freedom to make engagements on their own terms, and allow themselves to be told by their leaders when to work and when not to work, have no adequate sense of that fundamental right which every man possesses to make the best of himself and to dispose of his abilities in any way he pleases.'—President Baer before the Arbitration Commission, Philadelphia, Feb. 12, 1903.

More than two thousand years ago, Gredon wit gave birth to a genius, Aristophanes. He pulled away from the beaten path of teaching humanity through tragedies, and struck out on a new path. The foibles of man, the blunders of false reasoning, the peacock-brains absurdities of vainglory, these he exposed in a series of satires that have remained an inexhaustible source of instruction and mirth to the race. The mirror that he held up to the fools and pedants Aristophanes shaped into comedies. Foremost among these is "The Acharians." The hero of the play is an Athenian rustic, Dicaeopolis. The war between Athens and Sparta had caused him much inconvenience, and not a little loss, until finally he was compelled to leave his home and farm, and take shelter in the city. He wanted to return to his cabbages, and onions, and turnips. He wanted for peace. But the commonwealth was bent on war. At last he loses all patience. Dicaeopolis thereupon—in the words of Herbert Spencer, uttered over two thousand years later and approvingly echoed by President Baer—seizes that "fundamental right which every man possesses to make the best of himself" and decides to "dispose of his abilities in any way he pleases." How the thing is done and what it comes to transpires from the following passage in the play:

DICAEOPOLIS.—"Where is Amphitheus got to?"
AMPHITHEUS.—"Here am I."
DICAEOPOLIS.—"There—Take you these eight drachmas on my part, and make a separate peace for me with Sparta."
"For me, my wife, and children, and maid servant."

For more than two thousand years Dicaeopolis has come rolling down the Avenues of Time, a bundle of contradictions, an incarnation of absurdity. He holds property—a "creature of society"; and yet would he deny society. He profits by the privileges that flow alone from society—"organization"; and yet would he escape the duties of organization. He entrenches himself behind the constraining safeguards of civilization, a "commonweal"; and yet insists in the bird-freedom of individualism. He insists in breathing at once both the protecting air of social man and the free air of the savage; while retaining citizenship in Athens, yet would he be a city unto himself, free to conclude peace for "himself, his wife and children, and maid servant."

Only the savage surrenders no part of his freedom—and thereby he becomes

the abjectest of slaves, impotent before Nature and organized man.

Only the savage fatuously leans on the hollow reed of the "fundamental right of the individual" to dispose of his ability "in any way he pleases,"—and thereby he and his species become ready prey to the elements, and to organized man. The Gate to Freedom is the restraining one of organization, through which the individual frees himself of the shackles of individualism, and develops the superior capabilities of the species. The Trades Union, with its restriction of the individual's freedom "to dispose of his abilities in any way he pleases," is an organism that makes for civilization; the Trades Unionist, who strips himself of his individualist freedom "to dispose of his ability in any way he pleases," attests his development beyond the savage, beyond also the Dicaeopolis stage.

For more than two thousand years the human race—that portion that has civilization in its keeping—has been roaring at the figure of Dicaeopolis. And well it might. That indeed he was a type, worth embalming for all time, the "philosophers" and the "captains of industry" of Capitalism—the Spencers and the Baers—bear testimony in this generation.

THE MEDUSA-HEAD.

The Hon. William Randolph Hearst, a member elect to the Federal House of Representatives, and a candidate for nomination for President before the approaching national convention of the Democratic party, has come out with a five-planked platform on domestic concerns, on "internal policy," as he terms it. The five planks can be condensed into three. They are:

First—Public ownership of public franchises.

Second—A graduated income tax, and destruction of criminal Trusts.

Third—National, state and municipal improvement of the public school system.

This political delivery has thrown the so-called "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic" party press all into a flutter. It is bubbling over with adverse criticisms. Quoting from the ablest of these papers—the Milwaukee, Wis., "Social Democratic Herald"—the following are the leading objections.

Against the first plank:

"As President, Hearst could not help it on, it being a local matter."

—What! Are railroads, are mines, are telephone, electric and telegraph plants "local matters"? Are they not all-essential in national production and distribution? What, could a President, favoring a certain policy, "not help it on"?!

Against the second plank:

"A graduated income tax calls the United States' Supreme Court to mind. It has already declared the income tax unconstitutional."

—What! Is it imaginable that the tidal wave, that would carry into the White House a President committed to a certain policy, would split off the Congressional candidates, and carry into the Capitol Congressmen committed to an adverse policy? Congress holds the Federal Courts in the hollow of its right hand. Woe to the Judge reckless enough to dare cross the will of the Legislative and Executive elect of the Nation. In less time than it takes to say it, he would be suspended and impeached, kicked down and out. What, afraid of the "capitalist Courts" with a President and Congress on one's side!

Against the third plank:

"The school system is being improved all the time. What possible good can Hearst do in this line that the people will not themselves do?"

—What! "The school system is being improved all the time," when increasingly large shoals of the workingman's children are kept out of school, partly for want of school room, partly for want of means on the parents' part! What, even if, indeed, improvement were "going on all the time," is the improvement imaginable except by means of organized political force, electing the proper magistrates? If "the people will do it all themselves," and no such organized political activity, abutting in the polls, with regard to anything else? Why any political parties, at all? Why not leave the class struggle to see to itself? Why nominate any candidate for President at all? What possible good could he do in that line that the people

will not themselves do?—What, Manchester School redivivus! What, Anarchy!?

Obviously, the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party objections to the Hearst platform are, of and in themselves, so many tubs without bottom. Now, look into the matter still closer. It will become positively edifying.

It is not Mr. Hearst alone who has been emitting political programs. So has the so-called "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic" party. And what has its language been? It has pronounced itself "anti-cataclysmic," in favor of "boring from within," firmly devoted to "local autonomy," unalterably opposed to "local quorum," fond of "gradual permeation till ultimate absorption," abhorrent of "auto da fe," aiming at "one thing at a time," stuck upon "labor sekretariat," consecrated to "temporary demands," etc., etc. Now, all this is very beautiful, and we doubt not, very learned. But it sounds like a foreign tongue and is beyond the grasp of the common people; moreover, it has a wild-eyed look about it. Compare it with the Hearst deliverance, and what leaps to sight? Mr. Hearst has simply translated the "Socialist" alias "Social Democratic" lingo into plain English; he has curried-combed it; polished it; he has made it intelligible,—and above all, rational.

When the press of the so-called "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic" party now throws its at the Hearst platform, the performance is but a repetition of the Medusa-head turning to stone at the sight of the mirror in which its own horrible features are reflected.

THE VENEZUELAN INCIDENT.

The blockade of Venezuelan ports is raised. Is that all there is of it? Indeed, not! What has happened is that the blockade has been turned on the blockaders, who now, in turn, are themselves blockaded.

About two months ago, when the Venezuelan trouble broke out, it was pointed out in these columns that the "trouble" was seemingly centered in and around Venezuela, whereas, in point of fact, the trouble raged many hundreds and thousands of miles away. The issue proves the correctness of the size-up then made; it also proves the correctness of the forecast that the aggressors would come out at the little end of the horn. The language of the press of the allies distinctly points to this conclusion. This is especially so in the instance of the German press. The "Allgemeine Zeitung" speaks of the situation as "tantamount to a victory of America over Europe"; the "Taegliche Nachrichten" refers to the recent allies as being "in a sad plight"; the "Vossische Zeitung" is full of disappointment at "the discrepancy between the design and the achievement"; in short, they are all sore. And mighty good is their reason.

The assault on Venezuela was not a sporadic affair, no more than the breaking out of a pimple on any part of the body is a "local" matter. A pimple denotes a constitutional state of things. The body on which it breaks out has impure blood. The capitalist world is today an organism. It was "capitalist conditions" elsewhere that brought on foreign armaments before Venezuelan ports. What those capitalist impurities were could be guessed at; to-day guessing is no longer necessary. The delay in squeezing Venezuela, due to Venezuela's resistance, has caused certain leakages about the claims budget. The Oxford professor of international law has given out that many of the British claims will not stand the test of the "international code"; and, as to the German claims, it is now ascertained that there is a demand for \$15,000,000 sunk in a railroad not longer than 111 miles! The fishy odor emitted by these leakages gives an idea of the composition of the bulk of the claims. The hope was that Venezuela would cave in quickly, and the roar of cannon and clatter of swords would drown the sound of the frauds that the war had in custody. It has turned out otherwise. All these claims are to be inquired into by The Hague Committee. This Committee is made up of representatives of all the other leading capitalist countries. Will they make common cause with England and Germany in the theory that they also are incubators for just such fraudulent claims? No! The law that underlies the capitalist's motions works otherwise. They are competitors; what the one grabs is not there for the others to grab. In this conflict between wolves there lies some degree of safety for the victim. To begin with, not a tithe of the claims, that would otherwise have been enforced on Venezuela, will be now even presented at The Hague by England and Germany, and

those that are presented will be very thoroughly scrutinized. In other words, the claimants (former blockaders) are now themselves blockaded!

No doubt there is a tremendous "discrepancy between the design and the achievement." No wonder the crew is sore. The question comes, however, Where will the pimple just cauterized turn up next? What shape will it take? Turn up it must, it is the forerunner of the coming international financial and mercantile crisis.

THE MORAL LAW.

"The civil law does not pretend to take into account everything that is good and bad. The civil law does not treat of all the rights and duties and the obligations of men. If it does we had better nail up our church doors, and close our school-houses forever, and burn most of the books which have dealt with the questions of moral conduct. If a civil strife like this comes on, then those responsible for it must consider the moral law. . . . Mr. Mitchell recognized this law."—Counselor Darrow before the Arbitration Commission, Philadelphia, Feb. 13, 1903.

The conduct of the human race—taken as a whole—is dictated, not by what it WISHES, but by what it MUST. This great law of social evolution, if ignored, leads to visionariness, and, via visionariness to disaster; if recognized, it leads to intelligent, and, via intelligent action, to progress. By the light of that law, that which otherwise would seem a perplexing fact, ceases to be such; nay, it becomes luminous, so luminous as to be a torch to guide man's steps in the accomplishment of his mission on earth. The "civil law" is the work of man; "churches, schoolhouses and books" on moral conduct are likewise the work of man. Man, being the framer of both, for what reason does he fail to square the former to the principles of moral conduct that he himself lays down in the latter? For what reason is the civil law left so full of cracks? Is it done on purpose? No; man has no choice. He acts as he MUST, not as he WISHES. The moral aspirations of the race are perfect; its material powers are imperfect. What he does, accordingly, is a compromise between that which he wishes, and that which he can. This mighty truth once grasped points to two important conclusions:

First—The course of moral conduct on earth is to improve, and ever strain to improve, the material powers at man's disposal so as to fashion them into as fit instruments as may be for the satisfaction of his perfect moral aspirations;

Second—(and this is an inevitable conclusion of the first) That individual conduct is IMMORAL that, while straining to keep the material instruments down in a state of imperfection, clamors for perfect moral aspirations, shipwrecked men, tossed on a raft in midocean, will become cannibals. Double-dyed is the immorality that would uphold the "shipwreck status" and yet clamor for benignity.

The civil law, in force at any time, is but a reflex of man's ascertained material powers to reach his moral aspiration,—of his ascertained powers at the time of the framing of such law. The existing civil law is a reflex of material powers that dictated CAPITALISM. Capitalism places in private hands—the hands of the Capitalist Class—the tools needed to supply the needs of man. The social conditions that flow from these premises sentence an ever larger portion of the population, the Working Class, to the level of merchandise; and this, in turn, amounts to a sentence of ever deepening dependence and misery upon the workingman. Are, to-day, the material powers at man's disposal the weak powers that once forced him to adopt Capitalism? They are not. Indeed, in the fiery furnace of capitalism did he forge the superior instruments wherewith to enable him to reach nearer to his moral aspirations. The phenomenal volume of wealth now producible now makes possible the freeing of man from the brute state of arduous toil for the necessities of life. Accordingly, the material capability of man has come up to his moral aspirations. What he now wishes, he also can. No compromise is now needed.

At such stages in the history of the race, human forces divide. One set, holds to what is; the other set pushes on to what is not yet. The Capitalist Class, true to its class interests is conservative. The class conscious Working Class pushes toward a more modern "system of civil law,"—towards Socialism. In this conflict of irreconcilable interests, in this "Irrepressible Conflict" of our generation, where stands John Mitchell?

Does he stand with both feet by President Baer? If he did, then sentence might be passed upon him for simple im-

morality. No, he stands with one foot by President Baer and the other against. In one breath he upholds the "shipwreck status," in the other he clamors for benignity.

Whatever may be the case with President Baer, one thing is obvious, the immorality of John Mitchell is doubled.

WELCOME!

A new weekly paper has made its appearance in this city. Its name is "The New York Socialist and Trades Union Review." We do not believe, in, and we care less for the political vagaries—it is Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party,—or for the Trades Union idiosyncrasies—it is "pure and simplerish"—of the new arrival; nor can we admire its wild-tom-cat-scaling-a-fence appearance. Nevertheless, and for all that, the "Welcome!" we greet the newcomer with is sincere. In one respect it deserves applause.

For some time we have been calling attention to the fact that the English Social Democratic paper in this city, "The Worker," is the private property of a private concern,—the Volkszeitung Corporation. The objections raised by Social Democrats to our warnings gave opportunity for a large number of Letter-Box answers. It was therein pointed out that a bona fide, however mistaken, party of Labor must own and control its own press; that its Editor, and all engaged on it, had to be absolutely the servants of the party; and that where—as in the case in point—the Editor, etc., were the employees of a private concern, run for business, and with power to select from among the party members whom to admit into the corporation and whom to keep out, such a party would be exploited and inevitably soiled with the inevitable soilure of the "peesiness" concern. That so many members of the Social Democratic party willingly yielded their necks to a yoke, which the Socialist Labor Party manfully refused to submit to, and triumphantly shattered, spoke ill for that gentry. It was one of the labels they bore, and most of them bear yet, denoting their turpitude. The new paper, judging from several passages, denotes a healthy reaction: manhoodward.

The new paper hints that the "peesiness" concern keeps information from the party; it shrewdly surmises that the "monopoly may sometimes aim to achieve its own ends."—Good! That's encouraging!

The Socialist Labor Party cares not how off the track a foe within the Labor Movement may be; it cares not how violent in discussion his ignorance may render him. The S. L. P. cares naught for that. What the S. L. P. cares for is the character of the foe. Rotten cloth is hopeless. In a manly adversary there is always hope. The newcomer, by pulling its neck from the yoke of the Volkszeitung Corporation gives token of manly fibre.

As such it is welcomed heartily into the arena.

The prospectus of a Canadian wheat raising company has been received from a Canadian comrade. The company is capitalized at \$1,000,000. It will operate 9,000 acres of wheat lands in Assiniboia, Canada, bought from their present owners with all the necessary buildings, steam plows, etc. The latest mechanical improvements are to be added. The company has an option on 10,000 acres in another portion of the same country. It is estimated that the average yield will be thirty-five bushels per acre. This is produced at an average of \$5 per acre, while selling for an average of \$35, leaving a profit of \$30,000. The farms of the company will be conducted by an organized staff, headed by a general manager and a retinue of clerks. Dividends are estimated at 15 per cent. annually. It is pointed out that the company has many advantages over many industrial enterprises in that while its "earnings" from its wheat products are constantly growing, the land of the company is continually enhancing in value, "creating a double source of values." This prospectus illustrates the growth of capitalist agriculture in the Dominion. It is the growth of agriculture in this country over again. It shows the same tendency to concentration as here, and the same results that are inducing capitalists of this country to take to corporate farming. In both countries the knell of the small farmer is sounded.

The Democrats continue to denounce Republican anti-trust legislation. They characterize it as insincere and an attempt to steal their thunder. Why did they vote in favor of it then? Was it to show their own lack of sincerity?

Right after a court has "busted" the Beef Trust, the Window Glass Trust meets its competitors in public and effects an agreement with them that will raise prices. Still people want legal decisions and publicity to bust trusts.

WHO'S TO BLAME

During the past few weeks there has arisen, principally in New York State, an agitation in favor of child labor laws that possesses some noteworthy features. Foremost among them is the attempt to fasten the responsibility for the existence of child labor on the intemperance and inhumanity of parents, who, it is claimed, swear falsely to their children's age, in order that they may thereby secure the miserable pittance child labor receives.

This feature is in direct contradistinction to the foremost feature of the child labor agitation in the South, in New Jersey, and in other States last year. In those agitations, the cause of child labor and child labor violations were plainly traced to the workings of the capitalist system, the capitalist upholders of which fought proposed enactments and defied prosecution on the ground that child labor was essential to the profitable development of their States and industries. This stand earned for the capitalists in question popular condemnation and execration. That these men could sacrifice tender and innocent childhood so brutally to the pursuit of profit, evoked general, though ineffectual wrath and indignation.

From the foregoing facts it appears that this foremost feature of the most recent child labor agitation is but an attempt to shield the real criminals. It is an attempt to raise the cry of "stop thief!" in order to fill the cells that wait in vain for the real culprits with prisoners captured among its victims.

This view gains credence when some of the arguments against child labor, advanced in this agitation, are considered. It is rightly claimed that child labor is one of the most important causes of unemployment among adults. It is also asserted that the lower wages at which children must be hired is the greatest inducement for their employment. Clearly these two facts work to the great advantage of the capitalist class and the detriment of the working class. The first will accordingly favor child labor, while the latter opposes it.

A large reserve army of unemployed is essential to capitalist profit. With it the capitalist overcomes discontent and reduces wages. It naturally follows that he will protect and stimulate the development of anything tending to increase that reserve army. Child labor will accordingly be fostered and promoted by him in factory and legislature.

Machinery also adds to the army of unemployed. Now, it is a peculiarity of machinery under capitalism, that it decreases exchange value, while dispensing with the muscular strength and skill of men, thereby permitting of the employment of the more supple women and children. Competition is increased; and the hiring of child labor at low wages becomes not only necessary, but possible. Without machinery the employment of child labor would become unprofitable.

Here, then, is further evidence supporting the view that the attempt to shift the responsibility for child labor is but an attempt to hide the real culprit: the capitalist class. Capitalist conditions, created and maintained by the capitalist class, cause and promote child labor.

In the above facts, we also have the evidence to enforce the oft-made Socialist contention that child labor will not be advanced so long as capitalism prevails. On the contrary, as the present day reaction in some circles against it proves, it increases as capitalism increases. And its growth will be greater as the growth of easily-guided machinery grows.

Socialism alone is the remedy for child labor.

The Kaiser has written a letter on revelation. In it he argues that God is revealed in prophets and kings. From this one is forced to conclude that as the Kaiser is a king he is God. And this is the same Kaiser whom Bebel a few days ago showed to be such a contemptible coward. There is one revelation that is certain. That is the one the Kaiser makes that he is as big a megalomaniac as ever.

Mark Hanna and Gen. William Booth are announced to appear at the latter's farewell meeting in this city on March 1, Hanna's capitalist salvation army—the Civic Federation—and Booth's proletarian Salvation Army, are ventures that have many common features. Both are interested in saving the domination of the capitalist class. They are also maintained for the benefit of the men who founded and head them. Mark and William are twin stars.

The German capitalists have been advised to take American trusts as their models. We advise the German workmen, in fighting the German trusts that will be created, to take the Socialist Labor Party as their model. The last bit of advice is the necessary accompaniment of the first bit.

Mayor Low assured the newspaper publishers at their annual banquet that he was delighted to hear that difficulties with their compositors were settled by arbitration. As the publishers have reduced German composition from 27 to 24 cents a thousand ems through arbitration, the delight felt was not wholly confined to the mayor.

Ballington Booth announces that 14,000 former prisoners, now members of his wife's Volunteer Prison Society, are living respectable lives. What is Ballington trying to do? Knock the bottom out of the theological theory of the innate depravity of man?



Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan.

BROTHER JONATHAN.—I am not at all prejudiced. I like to hear all sides of any question; but I was very much surprised the other night when I went to a Socialist meeting that I saw advertised. I thought the Socialists were bad people, but the speaker on that occasion made a very nice speech, a speech that no one could take offence at. To be sure, he criticized present conditions somewhat, but what political speaker does not.

UNCLE SAM.—That must have been a queer Socialist that could make a speech that would offend nobody.

B. J.—Well, that fellow did. He made a nice speech.

U. S.—Let me tell you something, Fatty, that you don't seem to know about Socialism and Socialists: 'When a Socialist speaker gets up before an audience to make a speech it is his business to offend some people; and you can take this as a criterion, if he makes a speech that will offend no one, he is not a Socialist, he is a fraud. In this world, nature made the land and never gave any individual title to a foot of it. Birth into this world is nature's patent to the use of the world's natural resources. The working class alone has produced the machinery of production needed to exploit the world's natural resources, and the working class alone uses that machinery upon the natural resources of the earth for the production of the wealth upon which the inhabitants of the world live. The ruling class in all ages has consisted of a few who have either created or obtained possession of government for the purpose of robbing the working class of the product of its labor. In the present age of the world the ruling class is called the capitalist class, consisting of Mark Hanna, J. Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie et al. This class, by reason of its possession of the capital, is in possession of the government, and has been enabled to enact and enforce laws whereby it is kept in possession of the land, the birthright of the human race; and of the machinery of production, the creation of the working class and the rightful heritage of the children of that class; and they use their ill-gotten possessions, as a highwayman uses his weapon, to force the working class to give up by far the major portion of the product of its labor in return for the privilege of access to these necessary means of production without which it would starve. These conditions, the highwayman-like character of the capitalist ruling class, whose only purpose, in so far as the working class is concerned, is the acquisition, by fair means or foul, but principally by foul, of the product of the labor of that class; and the ability of that ruling class, by reason of its possession of the highwayman's weapon, the government, to so acquire that product, coupled with the constant improvement in machinery that throws ever greater numbers of the working class out of employment, could have but one effect were it not for Socialism and the Socialists, viz., the continual and progressive degradation of the working class, the driving of that class to starvation, suicide, crime and prostitution, and the final and absolute slavery of the class that produces all wealth to the class that has filched from it the means whereby wealth is produced. Now, it is the purpose of the Socialists, as represented by the Socialist Labor Party, to wrest from this brigand class its highwayman's weapon, the government, and to use that weapon for the purpose of forcing the capitalist class to return to its rightful owners, the working class, the land and machinery of which it has been robbed. Do you think a speech could be made along this line and yet offend nobody?"

B. J.—No. That is entirely different from the way that other fellow talked, but I see that you know what you are talking about and I would like to learn some more about this matter.

U. S.—That is just what I have been talking for. I want to get ten cents out of you to subscribe for our Monthly People, that is published by the Socialist Labor Party for the education of those of the working class who desire to learn the cause and cure for their present condition of slavery to the class that owns all of the means of production.

By the way, what party did that fellow represent, who you say you heard speak.

B. J.—I don't know. He didn't say.

J. R. Fraser.

The Pope's jubilee, with its regalia, riches, would seem to indicate that the spirit of abnegation and sacrifice that permeates Christ's teachings is wanting in the places where it is supposed to be most assiduously cultivated.

U. S. GRANT AND KANGAROOISM.

The below, a historic parallel from Wm. McCormick, of Ballard, Wash., is here given the right of way:

I bought a book.
If it had been "Sapho" or even "A Yellow Aster" it would cost ten cents, with the privilege of returning it for five.

But it was "Life of General U. S. Grant," so I got it for five cents if I would take it away and keep it away.

What a cutting commentary on capitalist gratitude and education!

I find that this capitalist biography of one of its exploited heroes makes mighty fine Socialist reading.

The boy, Hiram U. Grant, who did not have the least "business tact" in a horse trade, but could lead a sled with logs that required four men to handle rather than drive home without a load, is a stunning rebuttal of the old "You must change human nature" gag.

The discontent with idle army life, which drove him to drink and caused him to resign, is a splendid example of "Human Nature" resisting degradation.

Then he went "farming" (?) with four negro slaves to help him, and showed his appreciation of the "Real thing" by naming his ranch "Hard-scrabble."

Then he gave labor fakir John Mitchell's "Six Hundred Dollars a Year" a thorough test at Galena, where:

"While Grant was self denying, had no expensive habits, had not touched liquor in several years, yet even he rebelled against that frugality necessary to make ends meet. His brother increased his salary to the rate of eight hundred dollars a year, but even this did not enable him to live and he slowly drifted into debt."

Good. Three cheers for Grant!
Now, come up against him with: "If the working men would only save their money."

"April, 1861—the twelfth of April. Hark! The thunder of cannon! It rolls on and on until its echo reaches every hamlet, and cheeks burn and eyes flash, a sign of relief escapes. All doubt is at rest. The die is cast. Now for the 'struggle'."

Yes, Capitalism had to have a struggle, in its domains, between chattel-slavery and wage-slavery which brought all the latent disorder, stupidity, selfishness and hellishness of its nature to the surface on both sides.

"Circumstances" compelled the governor of Illinois to call "somehow coldly upon the man from 'Hard-scrabble,' who could not sell leather or 'make ends meet' on eight hundred dollars a year, 'for assistance in bringing order out of the resultant chaos'."

"Order (?) was soon restored, Grant's value recognized, the governor his friend."

They had found a man who could make the "barriers drill."

He was given the command of a regiment of "Farmers' Sons" (whose fathers were recent escapes from Feudalism) many of them barefooted and each wearing what was perhaps (good word) his poorest clothes, counting possibly on Uncle Sam supplying new suits, "who took him for a 'bum' because his citizens' hat and coat were 'battered' and 'worn out at the elbows.'"

The "Rubes" were looking for a "swell" to boss them—a trait that had been impressed on their "human nature" by thousands of years of Feudalism and class rule.

"Grant 'changed' their 'human nature' by cutting off their rations for a day, because they were an hour late with roll call, sufficient to make them respect him as 'A man who knew his business,' and thereby settled forever that other old gag: 'What will you do with the man that won't work?'"

It is not to our purpose to "hero worship" or eulogize "General Grant," but to find from capitalist information, what made the man from "Hard-scrabble" valuable to capitalism which had to get rid of chattel-slavery at any cost. In that sense Grant was the cheapest man that Capitalism ever hired.

He was a born engineer, master of dynamic force and power, who got a chance by the difference between twodecimals and twodecimals instead of as a human right, to get an education, at West Point, which he took seriously and simply meant, to him, that two and two are four, but it meant that emphatically, and there was no other way about it. He always knew what he was "up against" and he never stultified his common sense in dealing with it. And it is mighty poor Socialism that would take any part in the sentimental rot about his "Sacrificing Men to Win Battles."

The "Rubes" volunteered to fight battles for Capitalism and Grant made them do it.

It was his duty to win battles; not to count the cost. With him there was only one way to win war, and that was to fight. Now let us get down to the parallel between the Capitalist fight against chattel-slavery and the Socialist fight against Capitalism; between Grant, the tactical leader of "abolition," and the "tactical leaders" of the Socialist Labor Party.

The "abolition movement" meant nothing, but talk, until the cannons thundered; then it took one definite form, and all manner of "freaks, grafters, plunderers, and self-seekers" flocked to its standard, and made for its honest defenders more trouble than the "Rebels" did.

The "Socialist movement" meant nothing but talk, until the men with common sense in the Socialist Labor Party put it on the lines of the class struggle, in 1890, then it took definite shape, and the "freaks, grafters, crooks,

clerical skates, would-be editors, and book-selling parasites took it up as a vocation, which was of more importance to them than the welfare of the working class.

So we see that after Grant's common sense policy had been uniformly successful up to taking Fort Donelson, the first real Union victory, Halleck, his commanding officer, tries to "shelve him" by ordering: "Don't bring on a general engagement. If the enemy appear in numbers our troops must fall back." When he tries to follow up his success with further victories:

"Aware that Beauregard was strongly fortifying Corinth, Grant was eager to attack him while they were still weak, he urged this course upon Halleck, but the only satisfaction he got was: 'Remain where you are until you are fortified and get reinforcements!'" That knocks the S. L. P. claims to the discovery of the "Kangaroo," in 1890, into a cocked hat, as the following will show:

Smith, being made acquainted with Halleck's orders, vehemently exclaimed:

"By— I want nothing better than to have the infernal gray coats come out and have a go at us. We can whip them all to— Our men suppose we have come here to fight, and if we go to digging they will think we are afraid of the rascals. No burrowing in the ground for me."

That was the stuff that abolished chattel-slavery when it came to a show down, and it was the only thing that could do it.

"Burrowing in the ground" in 1862 was the same as "boring from within" in 1890.

When President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand troops for three months W. T. Sherman said, "You might as well try to put out the flames of a burning house with a squirt gun. It will take the whole military power of the North and it will be a desperate struggle, even then." His usefulness, to the North, was based on this bit of common sense, for which the "freaks" said he was "Mad as a March hare." He could see what had to be done and was honest with himself about it.

"The whole military power of the North," in 1861, was the same as the "Solidarity of working class in 1890."

Grant's tactics were all offensive—to whip the enemy, not to keep the enemy from whipping him. But submission to the Kangaroo Halleck's orders got him on the defensive at Shiloh against Beauregard, who put up the hottest fight the South made during the whole war.

Grant finally got his offensive tactics into working order and changed Beauregard's promising chance of victory into a good whipping.

Then the "Freaks" howled about the "great slaughter" (?) which occurred, in the first place, because Grant was compelled to submit to Kangaroo tactics instead of using his own, and in the second place, because two generals with offensive tactics came together over something that each considered to be of the utmost importance to his side.

But the reasoning of the malicious "Freak" is enough to make common sense dizzy. They charged Grant with the "slaughter" (?), and at the same time with being so "drunk" that he was not there.

Grant's being "drunk" in 1862 was the same as DeLeon's "abusing people" in 1890.

Now let us see how the Kangaroo does things.

On the 9th of April, Halleck reached the scene and immediately assumed command in person and "shelved" Grant from active duty entirely, by making him "second in command," like a vice-chairman, where he could say or do nothing until Halleck died, which he was not likely to do while there was a chance to "burrow" in the ground.

gathering an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men against Beauregard's forty thousand and "consumed six precious weeks in advancing fifteen miles within sight of fortifications that were found empty and guarded with Quaker guns."

Then instead of marching his one hundred and twenty thousand men to the "sea" he broke them into petty commands for garrison duty, where there was no fighting.

Phil Sheridan got from under Halleck's thumb long enough to whip five thousand Southern cavalry with two thousand horsemen.

Then the Kangaroos took their tactical to Washington, where he went, after adding insult to injury, and gave common sense tactics, in the West, a chance to begin all over again. Kangaroo tactics caused the great slaughter of men in the "Civil War" the same as they cost the Socialist Labor Party its "millions of votes" in 1900.

Kangarooism did all it could to handicap Grant, when he got a chance to move himself again, even a Julian Pierce knocked a big hole in his work (Col. Murphy at Holly Springs, who made a most cowardly surrender, for a man under the orders of such a commander as Grant), and they would have succeeded in having him removed if Lincoln, who was just getting cured of being a "Freak" himself, had not concluded to stand by the man who "won us nearly all our victories" until he captured Vicksburg, after which the stories about his "swilling whiskey" lost their force, and the success of the Union arms were assured by being put in charge of a man whose tactics were aggressive on principle.

If they had succeeded in pulling Grant down before Vicksburg; in destroying the kind of tactics that he stood for, Kangarooism would have prevailed in the Union army, which would have never gone through "the Wilderness."

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Northern reaction would have elected McClellan (who resigned from the army like our "good" Samia) in 1864; Lee would have taken Washington; then France and England would have recognized the Confederate States of America, and, what is of most importance to the working class, Capitalist centralization would have been delayed. All of which was avoided by Grant's common sense idea of war—whip the enemy before he whips you. And so it is with the Socialist Labor Party, which bases its only hope on the self-interest of the working class, solidified on the line of the class struggle. We must "fight it out on that line if it takes all" this century.

Going on the line of the class struggle in 1890 was our Belmont—our determination to have the working class "cut their own way out."

"We stopped 'boring from within' in 1890, which was our 'Fort Henry.' Our determination to mind our own business, which is to smash everything that is against the interest of the working class, and let the labor fakirs and crooks attend to theirs, without our help.

The establishment of the S. T. & L. A., an economic organization in line with our political purpose, was our "Fort Donelson"—our determination to put Trades Unionism on right lines.

The founding of The Daily People in 1900 was our Shiloh—our determination to save the working class from "Yellow Journalism." And now, comrades, we are up to our Vicksburg, the debt on The Daily People—that debt is the hope of Kangarooism.

Once we can run up a banner bearing the inscription: "The Daily People is Out of Debt," Kangarooism will wilt. Its stories about De Leon's "abusing people" won't have force enough to affect a job-hunting parson, and The Workers will never write about the "Difference" again.

It will leave that to us—the people who knew how.

Now we know that it can be done, but that is not what we want to be telling people, we want to tell them that it has been done.

So now, comrades, of the State Committees,

Stir up that four hundred and twenty-five dollars proposition. Just a little more fighting along that line, if you please.

Daily People Auxiliary League, you have held on to your lines very nicely. Now rally your old membership to new efforts, get more recruits, and do this year what they could not do last.

A little more fighting, please.

Then what has become of that brigade that was giving one day's wages to The Daily People? Let us see if we cannot rally them once more. Here is my day's wages—two dollars. Workingmen, this is your fight. In it you have more at stake than the men at Vicksburg had for laying down their lives. So make up your mind, right now, to put in one day this year, and as soon as possible, for decreasing that debt on The Daily People. Let everybody join this brigade, no matter how much you have done besides. Go in. There is good fighting all along this line.

Then there are 52,895 votes for the S. L. P., and I did not get a chance to vote at all, so we will call it 53,000 to make up for those like me.

Every S. L. P. vote is a man's vote, and it's a mighty poor man that cannot back his vote with a dollar. So let every S. L. P. voter pay his poll tax before the first of July.

The Daily People's third birthday.

So that we can nail to her masthead: "This paper was established by working men, paid for by workingmen, is run by workingmen, for workingmen." Here is my dollar to start this brigade; it is able to pay that debt four times; plenty of good fighting along this line.

Then we will go on to our Chattanooga, where we will take the "Lookout Mountain" of Kangarooism—silence their slimy papers, would-be editors, book-selling parasites, hyster lawyers, and job-hunting parsons—and plant The Daily People on the "Missionary Ridge" of "Yellow Journalism," where we will prove that it is the only paper fit for a workingman to read.

Then on again to our battle of "The Wilderness" with "Pure and Simpleism," and finally we reach our Appomattox, the final battle with Capitalism direct, which we will win, of course, but we must remember that our opponent is a "Lee," who will not surrender until he is whipped. We must have a united, intelligently guided working class to whip him with.

We will get that as soon as the working class catch on to the fact that we are "here to fight," to make them catch on we must reach them, to reach them we must have an incorruptible press and literature bureau; to have that we must have control of a plant to print it, and we cannot control anything that we do not own absolutely, and we do not own anything that is in debt. Well then the thing to do is to get that debt paid, so let us go at it, hammer and tongs, and wipe it out before the first of July. It can be done, so be sure that you are one of those that have the honor of helping to do it.

The Revolution will live; make a man of yourself by helping to lighten its "burden."

If the blood and thunder speeches of Tillman, Bigelow, Wise and Grosscup are good indications, troublous times are in store for this country. With race, class and international wars on its hands, the capitalist class will be compelled to face some difficult problems. The attempt to solve them within the limits of capitalism will destroy the capitalist class. Nothing but a revolution—a step upwards to Socialism—will do.

Hadlock, Wash., Feb. 7, 1903.

Pure and Simpleism in Washington.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—At this place, Hadlock, Wash., there is a longshoremen's "union" whose object is to keep up "union" wages and incidentally to "nobly wage the class struggle." Recently fifteen of these dupes of capitalist met, not on the real battlefield, urging their fellow-workers to become class-conscious and abolish wage-slavery, but at the Commercial Hotel, and, in a drunken quarrel, brutally assaulted a Socialist, who was present, because he told them he did not believe in a pure and simple organization and endeavored to show them why such a "union" was impotent.

These deluded longshoremen imagined that by killing the person who was showing them the error of their ways they would wipe out Socialism in the whole country.

Those wage-slaves voted for capitalism last election, thus selling their birthright to the capitalist politician for a handshake, a smile, a cigar and a glass of beer, for two years. Capitalism will soon beat them so hard that they will have to give it a kick.

At the sawmill here the workers seem to understand their position better. The X-rays of scientific Socialism are being turned on them and I hope it will result in subscriptions for The People.

R. Macdonald.

Hadlock, Wash., Feb. 8.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, beside their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

The Lamponists in Retrospect.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Now that the dust and smoke have cleared away from the scene of the late lamponist outbreak, and the whole little scheme lies bare beneath the sun, a few general remarks on the subject will not be out of place in our party correspondence.

The affair does not need much perspective. The few months that have gone by have been quite enough to bring out all the details. The first thing that strikes us on looking back is the lack of proportion between our own rage and excitement and the petty cause thereof. For myself I confess to many and bitter tears of anger and despair. And for what? For nothing at all, except, indeed, one of the necessary phases of party progress. The little episode is only interesting as a peculiar part of our movement's growth.

In this, as in the former Kangaroo struggle, four distinct elements may be discerned. First: The unmistakable middle-class Socialists who were lost in the proletarian movement and had not the sense and honesty to inquire their way out. Second: The worn-out comrades, men who had been useful in the past but were unable to advance with the times, and who had not the strength and courage to hold up the ever-growing burden and enter the ever-narrowing road. Third: The dishonest or fakir crowd who had entered the party to serve their little ends. Lastly: A group of muddled workingmen who were seized with a blind desire to set matters straight somewhere and see justice (?) done at once and in all directions. Of the first three classes nothing need be said; of the last let me remark that men who strike blindly at their center in time of stress are not fit for a revolutionary movement.

Now, unless a committee could be elected each year to pick the party over like a basket of fruit; a peaceful method of getting rid of these elements could hardly be invented. But certain biological laws hold good in economic organizations, and the advancing Socialist Labor Party is forced by inexorable law to throw off, of itself, the accumulated matter at variance with its system. In the case at hand the simple directness of the proletarian movement could no longer be borne by the misplaced middle-class Socialists. They seized a frivolous opportunity to strike out for a change of policy and aimed their blows at our party press. The worn-out element moved to their assistance, the fakir crew rushed nobly to the onslaught, the muddled workingmen hastened also to the scene, and over they all tumbled together.

Now it is to be expected that in so strenuous a movement as ours, mistakes will be occasionally made. It is even possible that, in the heat of the conflict, a straight, true comrade may be thrown out of the party. But such a one will find his way back, never fear. He certainly will never attack his own strongholds and work to tear down the organization he has helped to build, nor will he join the forces of the enemy and decry to-day the principles he spread but yesterday with so much zeal. Men who can do such things are hardly worth a second thought.

But these brief internal mishaps are of little consequence in the face of the great facts of the struggle. The fight of the S. L. P. is just beginning now. The new and seemingly important stand into which the antiquated labor organizations have been lately forced by the rapid closing of capitalist combinations will make the next few years a time of stress and strain for us. It will be necessary that the party brace itself and hold.

Comrades, there are two kinds of cowards in the world to-day, those who dare not fight and those who dare not stand. The former class is not very numerous, but the name of the latter is legion. We will all have opportunity to prove ourselves in the stress of the next few years.

Fraternally,
Jane A. Roulston.
San Francisco, Feb. 7, 1903.

Pure and Simpleism in Washington.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—At this place, Hadlock, Wash., there is a longshoremen's "union" whose object is to keep up "union" wages and incidentally to "nobly wage the class struggle." Recently fifteen of these dupes of capitalist met, not on the real battlefield, urging their fellow-workers to become class-conscious and abolish wage-slavery, but at the Commercial Hotel, and, in a drunken quarrel, brutally assaulted a Socialist, who was present, because he told them he did not believe in a pure and simple organization and endeavored to show them why such a "union" was impotent.

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Miners Becoming Aware of Mitchell's Deception.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—In my last letter from Scranton about "the noble wagers of the class struggle," I neglected to mention that after the Pittsburgh Moses (Schubert) quit the mines he took to selling the portrait of John Mitchell for a living. His partner, the prophet Daniel (son), is also working the coal diggers of this valley to buy a picture of their "great leader."

The "prophet" was met by a local comrade the other day and asked why he was peddling the picture of the man he had charged with being a labor fakir and misleader. He answered that it was a good seller, and he could make an easy living on it; besides, he got a good chance to talk Socialism to the miners. Eberle had better look to his laurels or the "prophet" will beat him in the instalment picture business and selling the photos of labor skates.

There is an election contest on here between the Democrat, Howell, and the Republican, Connell. On the face of the returns Howell was elected; but Connell charges that bribery of voters and marking of ballots by Howell was the cause of his defeat—hence the contest. A committee is now taking evidence, and from an extract in the local papers there is proof of more log-rolling by the Social Democrats. One of the latter, named Dolan, who lives near Carbon-dale, according to reports of the evidence, admitted that he marked two dozen ballots for Howell, although his "party" had a candidate up by the name of Lamb.

A recent letter from Eberle to a local supporter of the "logical centrists" tells of bickerings in their camp. The letter stated that a minority fought to have De Leon speak at their headquarters in Pittsburgh, but the majority got the upper. The letter further said "although many will attend the De Leon meeting none of the leaders or prominent speakers will go; and we hope that this fanatical minority will soon go where they belong—into the De Leon camp." Judging by this, things are not as they seem in the camp of the fathers of the "ostrieh party."

The miners of this valley are becoming alive to the fact that they have been fooled again and have given up hope of getting anything from the Roosevelt Anthracite Strike Commission. Even the fakirs here are admitting defeat and are telling the miners that nothing can be expected through the trade union movement, exhorting them to elect the candidate of the abolition—the Economic League—in order to gain anything. But the miners have their eyes open, and Tuesday's election will prove that they are no longer fooled by the men who have used their backs as stairs to climb into fat jobs. The miners have the revolutionary spirit.

To work, comrades, and guide them in the right direction by pushing the party press among them.

Standfast Craigellachie.
Scranton, Pa., Feb. 15.
P. S.—Congratulations on the christening.

Counting Out Texas S. L. P. Votes.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Supplementary to a recent statement as to the fact that Socialist Labor Party votes are unceremoniously thrown out by the rawhide Bourbon commissioners of El Paso county, the following letter from C. F. White, just to hand, is a clincher:

"Capt P. O., Texas, Feb. 15.
"Mr. A. S. Dowler.—Yours to hand. In reply will say that the words used to me were these: 'We do not have to count them' [meaning the three S. L. P. votes cast in Quadrilla precinct] but were not used by Mr. Garcia but by the whole [Board presumably]. Trust this may be satisfactory. Yours respectfully,

"C. F. White.

"A. S. Dowler,
"El Hancock, Tex., Feb. 12."

LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]

P. Y. MUNCIE, IND.—The "Coming Nation" is the "old Socialist paper" only in the sense that "oldest" may stand for "sentile." In point of years, The People leads.

A. H. B. NEW HAVEN, CONN.—No wonder if your New Haven capitalist press "booms Jaures" altho' he is a Socialist. Why should not the European bourgeois allow a Socialist, silly enough to do the job, to pull the hot chestnuts out of the fire for them? The French radical bourgeois shove Jaures forward on account of his antimilitarism.

A. U. JR., NEW YORK.—"Good points?" The American Labor Union bristles with them. They are too many to mention.

R. A. DAGUE, ALAMEDA, CAL.—Your book does not "sugar coat hard and dry scientific Socialism." It makes Socialism ridiculous. It robs Vallhalla of its thunders. One feels like a Salvation Army tambourine girl after reading five of its pages. No, thank you.

D. W. H. PHOENIX, ARIZ.—A letter commending place for President Stark Jordan's effusion would be your own: Patrick Henry-like letter against the "X. E. C. Tomfoolery" always is that which drives society, feeling to save itself, to rush into the arms of tyranny.

A. S. NEW YORK.—There can be no

"capital," and, consequently, no "commodities" (merchandise) in the Socialist Republic.

"Capital" means privately owned plants of production; as the plants of production will be collective property, "capital" could not be there.

"Commodities" (merchandise) imply the private ownership of the means to produce, and, accordingly, the private ownership of the product. "Commodities" necessarily imply sale. All of which is absent from the Socialist Republic. The means or plants of production being under collective ownership, their product is not for sale, but for use.

D. W. PROVIDENCE, R. I.—No; not in California alone. There are "Union Labor Party" up-bubbings in other states. In Ohio, for instance, the thing is just now cropping up nicely. Canton has a "Union Labor Party" with one James A. Robinson, President of the Central Labor Union, as candidate for Mayor.

W. B. BURY, LANCASTIRE, ENG.—On such subjects one cannot be too technical in his terminology. "Wealth" is the product of labor. Coal, underground, for instance, is not economic wealth. It is potential wealth; it may become wealth; it becomes wealth, economic wealth when labor has been

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New
Road street, New York.
**SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CAN-
ADA**—W. S. Corbin, Secretary, 70 Col-
borne street, London, Ontario.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY
2-6 New Road street. (The Party's
literary agency.)
Notice—For technical reasons no Party
announcements can go in that there are
not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

CANADIAN S. L. P.

London, Feb. 26.—The regular meet-
ing of the N. E. C. was held at head-
quarters on this date with Comrade Nut-
tall chairman and Comrade Bryce absent
and excused.

When the minutes of the previous
session had been confirmed the following
communications were read and dealt
with: From Comrade James Connolly,
of Dublin, Ireland, acknowledging pay-
ment for the expenses incurred by him
while lecturing in Canada; filed. From
Section Toronto, stating the election of
another organizer; also asking for in-
formation regarding the party generally.
From Comrade Hucker, of Sarnia, Ont.,
bearing on the possibility of forming a
section there, also requesting the N. E.
C. to procure his card from Section Lon-
don and send same to him. From Sec-
tion Vancouver, B. C., relative to propa-
ganda work, etc.; as the secretary had
replied to this communication it was
ordered filed. He was instructed to re-
ply to Section Toronto, giving, as far as
possible at present, the information desired;
also to inquire regarding their municipal
elections for 1903; also to see the finan-
cial secretary of Section London and
comply with Comrade Hucker's request.
Phil. Courtenay, rec. secretary.

Massachusetts State Executive.

Special meeting of the Mass. S. E. C.
held on Friday, February 13, 1903, with
John R. Oldham in the chair. All dele-
gates present.

Minutes of previous meeting adopted.
Communications from Marlboro, Low-
ell, New Bedford and Boston, asking in-
formation, reporting local conditions, re-
ferring to conference, forwarding dues,
etc., accepted for files.

Bill of \$1.14 for supplies for secretary
ordered paid.

Auditing committee reported on books
of Section Medford. Accepted.

Agitation committee reported having
secured John R. Oldham of Lynn for
"Commune Celebration" of Section Law-
rence.

Committee elected to draw up recom-
mendations for State conference sub-
mitted list of recommendations, which
were laid over for new business.

Report of committee to draw up tour
for Comrade De Leon was accepted.

Secretary reported name of John
Youngman for member-at-large, and was
instructed to send him application blank.

Secretary reported the name of Pres-
ton Parker for membership and was in-
structed to notify Parker to join Sec-
tion Malden and inform Section Malden
of that effect.

Comrade Young, of the organizer fund
committee, reported that Max Bowen
had paid \$1 to the organizer fund and
did not receive acknowledgment in The
People for the same. Comrade Stevens,
of the same committee, stated he sub-
mitted list and was not aware that Com-
rade Young had received that money and
therefore did not mention it in his re-
port to the S. E. C.

Theodore Holberg, Edgar E. Chester
and W. H. Young were duly nominated
and elected grievance committee by ac-
clamation.

Recommendations to be submitted to
the State conference were taken up.

It was voted to accept recommendations
to have Scandinavian Socialist Club and
Socialist Labor Party try and organize
Sweden and build up Arbetearen, the
Swedish party paper.

It was voted to recommend that So-
cialist Labor Party take definite steps
to build up contributors to the press of
different towns and cities and to keep
an official organ informed on all mat-
ters of importance.

It was voted to recommend that the
party pay more attention to members-
at-large and their work of agitation.

It was voted to recommend that the
sections in the various counties organ-
ize county committees and each organ-
ized county committee and State com-
mittee to have power to elect an ex-
ecutive committee to transact such busi-
ness as may be necessary between
monthly meetings of the State Commit-
tee.

It was voted to recommend that the
State be divided into districts to carry
on the work of organization and agita-
tion.

It was voted that we recommend to
the conference that the S. L. P. and S.
T. & L. A. keep an organizer in the field
fully.

Financial secretary-treasurer reported
receipts \$19.05; expenditures, \$1.14.

Detroit Commune Celebration.
Section Detroit, Mich., Socialist
Labor Party, and Socialist Arbeiter
Gesellschaft will hold a Commune
celebration and ball at Colombo Hall,
No. 385 Gratiot avenue, Saturday eve-
ning, March 14, at 8 p. m. sharp, for the
benefit of "The Wage-Worker."
Good English and German speakers
will be present. Admission will be
two cents.

MISSOURI STATE COMMITTEE.

Minutes of the Missouri State Com-
mittee, Hillsbarrow in the chair, Grupp
absent; excused. Minutes of previous
meeting read.

Communication read from Minden
Mines, Novinger and St. Charles. Sec-
retary reported he had written manager
of The People asking him to appoint
agents at the above named places.

Secretary instructed to supply mem-
bers at large with literature. Secretary
instructed to go to St. Charles, Mo.,
Sunday, February 15, on party mission.
Bill for subscription blanks \$1.25 or-
dered paid.

Financial report: Previously on hand,
\$11.00; receipts \$6.48; total, \$18.08; ex-
penditures, \$1.25; balance on hand \$17.83.
H. M. Graber,
Recording Secretary.

St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 13.

NEW HAVEN, ATTENTION!

Section New Haven, Conn., S. L. P. will
hold regular meetings every Sunday af-
ternoon in S. L. P. Hall, 349 State street,
from now until election day, the third
Tuesday in April. Every comrade and
sympathizer is needed; plenty of work
ahead and every one must toe the mark.
Never in the history of the section have
the wage-slaves of this city been as will-
ing to listen to us as now. Come, do
your share to strike the scales from their
eyes and the shackles from their necks.

Ernest I. Oatley, Organizer.

GREATER BOSTON DELEGATES.

Delegates to the Greater Boston enter-
tainment committee are instructed to
meet in conjunction with the State ex-
ecutive committee of Massachusetts at the
headquarters of Section Boston, S. L. P.,
1165 Tremont street, Boston, on Sun-
day, March 8. Sections must see to it
that their delegates attend.

John W. Rogers, Secretary S. E. C.

NOTICE TO ST. LOUIS READERS.

Section St. Louis will hold agitation
meetings during February, March and April
as follows:

North St. Louis, at Benton Hall, Four-
teenth and Benton streets, every first and
third Sunday afternoon at 2.30 o'clock.
South St. Louis, at Dewey Hall, Broad-
way and Shennandoah streets, every second
and fourth Sunday afternoon at 2.30
o'clock.

Wage workers invited. Admission free.

EXCELSIOR DEFENSE FUND.

Previously acknowledged, \$41.81: C. D.
Lavin, Kern City, Cal., 50 cents; A.
Francis, New York, 50 cents; Joseph
Riepp, New York, 25 cents; Leon Plout,
New York, 25 cents; D. Gerskowitz, New
York, 25 cents; H. Santhoff, New York,
25 cents; Twenty-eighth Assembly District,
New York, \$1; Fifth Assembly District,
Brooklyn, \$1; Sixteenth and Eighteenth
Assembly Districts, Brooklyn, \$1; Section
Hartford, Conn., \$5; total, \$51.81.

L. Abelson, Secretary.
2-6 New Road street, Manhattan.

OFFICERS SECTION NEW HAVEN.

Section New Haven, Conn., has elected
the following officers: Organizer, Ernest
Oatley; financial secretary, Christian
Schmidt; recording secretary, Joseph
Marek; treasurer, Charles B. Wells; lit-
erature agent, Samuel Stodel; agent
Daily and Weekly People, Christian
Schmidt; agent Arbeiter Zeitung, John
Larson; agents Arbetearen, A. Ahlberg, J.
Peterson, and J. P. Johnson; auditors,
M. Stodel, C. Dumas and U. P. Johnson;
hall committee, Sullivan, Marek,
Schmidt, Maher, Oatley, Sener, Johnson,
Peterson, Ahlberg and Wells; hall agent,
Oatley.

NOTICE, NEW JERSEY!

The several sections of the Socialist
Labor Party of the State of New Jer-
sey are hereby notified to elect a dele-
gate each, to the State Committee, which
will meet at the headquarters of the Ho-
boken Section, corner Fourth and Gar-
den streets, Hoboken, on Sunday, March
15, at 2 p. m.

Nominations for officers of the State
Committee (who must be residents of
Hudson county), will close on the above
date. George P. Herrschaft, Sec'y.

HARTFORD SUNDAY LECTURES.

Sunday, March 1, 8 p. m., "Watt Ty-
ler's Fate; A Lesson for the Proleta-
riat"; in German, M. Lechner.

Sunday, March 8, 3 p. m., "Class An-
tagonism Under Capitalism," Chas. J.
Mercer, of Bridgeport, Conn.

These lectures will be held in head-
quarters, S. L. P. Hall, 392 Main street,
Hartford, Conn.

Section Everett's Officers.

The new officers of Section Everett,
Mass., are: Organizer, Louis H. En-
gelhardt; secretary, Amos P. Jones; lit-
erary agent and agent for The People,
Charles H. Chabot; financial secretary
and treasurer, Carl O. Gustavson; agi-
tation committee, Joel Miller, William
Edmonstone, Samuel G. Ferguson, Jo-
hannis Turnquist and Charles H. Chabot;
press committee, Joel Miller and Louis
H. Engelhardt; grievance committee, Ed-
win S. Mayo, Charles H. Chabot and
Samuel G. Ferguson; auditing commit-
tee, Louis H. Engelhardt and William
Edmonstone.

FUND FOR THE SOCIALISTISCHE AR-
BEITER ZEITUNG.

Sixteenth Assembly District, New York,
\$2.11; Section Oneida County, New York,
\$1; Twenty-third Assembly District, New
York, \$2; A. Francis, New York city, 50
cents; Fifth Assembly District, Brooklyn,
N. Y., \$1; John Lindgren, Brooklyn, N. Y.,
50 cents; W. T. Brooklyn, N. Y., 50 cents;
H. T. Brooklyn, N. Y., \$1; Paul Weibert,
New York city, \$5; total, \$12.33.

Henry Kuhn,
National Secretary.

AS TO THE N. E. C.

And Other Party Institutions—Sug-
gestions For Their Improvement.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I
have another suggestion to make to the
Socialist Labor Party which bears upon
my other suggestions concerning the N.
E. C. My original suggestion was that
the N. E. C. should consist of at least
21 members. I afterward stated that I
thought that 30 or 35 members would
be still better. And I further suggested
that the N. E. C. be composed of dele-
gates from the various branches and
sections in Greater New York and vi-
cinity.

Comrade Ermon F. King, of Holland,
Mich., suggests in the Weekly People
that the United States be divided into
seven districts, and that a national com-
mittee man be elected from each district
and take up his residence at the seat
of the N. E. C. He contends that his
suggestion "avoids charge of localism"
and that the N. E. C. so elected would
be a representative body in the fullest
sense of the word. He also says, "The
proletariat of to-day is not held in any
one place by any taxable interest."

That is true, but I would remind Com-
rade King that when the workers mi-
grate, it is generally more from neces-
sity than from choice. It is not always
easy to deliberately throw up a job in
one place and immediately find one in
another place. I think that for financial
reasons if for nothing else that his sug-
gestion would be impracticable. A com-
mittee of only seven persons would also
be rather a weak committee. We need
a committee as representatively sound
as is consistent with strength and means.
Other things equal, a larger body has
more strength than a smaller body. If
Comrade King's suggestion "avoids the
charge of localism," then my suggestion
"avoids the charge that a few men are
running the party."

There is one respect, however, in which
I believe that "the charge of localism"
can be brought with some good reason
against the city of New York. If I am
not mistaken, section Greater New York
at present has the responsibility of elect-
ing, not only the N. E. C., but the State
Executive Committee of the State of
New York as well. It does seem to me
that section Greater New York should be
relieved of the latter responsibility. If
the section was so relieved, it could de-
vote more energy to the improvement of
the N. E. C.

It seems to me that either Albany or
Buffalo, or some other important city
of the State would do just as well, and
better, under the circumstances, for the
seat of the State Committee of New
York. Hence, I suggest that a provision
be made in the constitution of the party
that the section, or sections, which elect
the N. E. C. shall not elect the State
Executive Committee.

Comrade King says, "The N. E. C.
should be an executive body. The na-
tional convention and sections delibera-
tive bodies." True enough, certain
questions can be submitted to the sec-
tions for a general vote. But, it so
happens that certain duties are imposed
upon the N. E. C., which make it neces-
sary for that body to be largely de-
liberative. Take, for instance, its juris-
diction over the party press. Quite fre-
quently the N. E. C. is called upon to
decide what it considers fit for publica-
tion. Now, is it best to entrust a small
committee of seven with that jurisdic-
tion, or an organization of thirty or more
members?

Comrade A. Metzler says, "Is it easier
to keep a large body free from all strange
influences, or is it easier to keep a small
body free from it? Who answers in
favor of a large body?" I answer that it
is easier, if anything, other things equal,
for the enemy to "influence" a smaller
body than a larger one.

I do not agree with Comrades A.
Metzler, of Rochester, N. Y., and Will W.
Cox, of Collinsville, Ill., that there is no
democracy in the S. L. P. According to
the party's platform, there exists in this
country a "democratic system of poli-
tics." But there is still more democracy
in the S. L. P. I have known the S. L. P.
by means of democratic methods, to ex-
pel crooks and fakirs and do other valu-
able work. It is the duty of the N. E. C.
to uphold the constitution of the party.
Hence, it could not "overrule the ma-
jority," if the majority acted in accord-
ance with constitutional and democratic
methods, as it would act if it had sense.

Owing to the democratic way in which
the party is organized, I do not see the
necessity or benefit of waiting until the
next national convention of the party be-
fore taking such actions as would im-
prove either the N. E. C. or the plat-
form, as was intimated to me in the
Letter Box of The Weekly People. The
more that is done before the convention,
the less will the convention have to do.
I say, let's lighten the work of the next
national convention as much as possible
in advance.

Ward Hall, Jr., d. rd.
Granville F. Lombard,
Rutland, Mass.

THE REAL DIFFERENCE

Between the "Socialist" and Socialist
Labor Party, as Tested by a Workman.

"The only difference between the So-
cialist Democratic Party and the Socialist
Labor Party is a disagreement in tac-
tics." The above, accompanied by more
or less unsubstantiated accusations re-
garding the S. L. P. and the S. T. &
L. A. is the general answer a person
gets when he asks an editor of a So-

cial Democratic paper the difference be-
tween the two parties.

In order to know what tactics to pur-
sue, what attitude to assume towards
certain organizations and institutions,
the Socialist movement must have a
clear conception of what the general
economic basis of the Socialist common-
wealth will be.

All over the United States, wherever
I have met Social Democrats, I have
asked them, "What is your conception
of the economic basis of the Socialist
commonwealth?" and I have yet to meet
one who could give a logical answer. As
a general rule their conception of So-
cialism was some mystical ideal which
they favored because it promised to
eradicate or reform some particular evil
of capitalism with which they were dis-
satisfied.

To have clear conception of the eco-
nomic basis of Socialism, it is necessary
to have a clear understanding of capi-
talism, a scientific knowledge of the
logical outcome of its evolutionary
tendencies, coupled with a historical
knowledge of the class struggle.

Socialism implies a system of organ-
ized industry, an administration of
things wherein the administrative and
executive functions will be conducted by
delegates or representatives from the
various vocations that the people will be
compelled to perform in order to pro-
duce the necessities and comforts of
life. Of course, many trades and vo-
cations of the present time will become
obsolete, partly on account of the in-
roduction of new machinery, partly be-
cause they are indigenous to capitalism.
Disagreeable, dangerous, unhealthy and
waste labor would be eliminated as far
as possible. Systematic co-operation,
producing "from a standpoint of qual-
ity" the largest quantity possible, with
the least expenditure of human labor,
will be the fundamental aim in pro-
duction, while in a general sense pro-
duction will be carried on for use and
the benefit of the whole human family
instead of for profit, which under the
present system accrues to the capitalist
class.

A historical knowledge of the class-
struggle teaches us that classes are
moved by their material interests, and
as it is the working class who suffer
from the evils of capitalism it is only
the working class who can be depended
upon to bring about Socialism. His-
tory also teaches us that those organ-
izations which were best disciplined,
most uncompromising and working in
unison on account of similarity of knowl-
edge and motives were the most suc-
cessful.

If the numskulls who edit the So-
cial Democratic papers understood these
facts and were honest, there would be
no such silly answers as above, or fool-
ish opposition to the uncompromising
position and revolutionary tactics of
the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A.

H. J. Schade.

THE TRUST MOVEMENT.

Its Effect On the Middle Class—Making
the Poor Poorer.

Every year it is becoming more and
more difficult for the poorer classes to
make ends meet. The so-called middle
class itself is really disappearing, and
society dividing into the two great
opposing classes, the capitalist class and
the working. The great trust move-
ment, to which no one who reads his
daily paper can be blind, is gradually
crushing out of existence the smaller
manufacturer, or trading class. Not
only in this direction, but in many off-
shoots or sideways, it is intensifying the
struggle. For example, the formation of
one trust alone in America threw out of
employment thousands of commercial
travellers. You may retort to this:—
These men are now unnecessary; you
would not have them kept on doing
nothing? No! In a properly, sanely
organized state of society these men
would be regarded as set free to do some
more necessary work, and so lighten the
labor of others. But in the present
state of affairs, what is the result of
their dismissal? It means an addition
of thousands to the already huge army
of the unemployed; it means that the
competition among the workers for "a
job" will be keener than ever. This,
notice, is bound to happen every time
a fresh trust is formed; and notice too,
that this is in addition to the hundreds
of petty traders or manufacturers whom
the Trust ruins and sends also to join
the same army of unemployed.

Nevertheless any organized opposition
to this Trustification movement is bound
to be futile. The study of the develop-
ment of capitalist society shows them to
be inevitable. And notwithstanding the
misery they cause in their beginning,
there is no manner of doubt that they
greatly simplify the problem we have
before us. For how much easier will it
be for the people—once they are awakened
to their own interests and take matters
into their own hands, as they will surely
do ere long—how much easier to take
over control of a simplified and organ-
ized Trust, than of a hundred and one
petty businesses with their conflicting
methods, etc. Regarded from this point
of view, Trusts in reality pave the way
for Socialism.

One other word. Socialism can never
be a national affair, it must be inter-
national. As no one nation, no one
"civilized" nation, anyhow, is independ-
ent of others, but needs them for its
very existence; as Britain for example,
depends for its food supply—and that is
its existence—on other nations, so no
nation could hope to socialize itself and
let the others look after themselves.
But this, instead of enlarging the task,
simplifies it. For the interests of labor

are everywhere one, just as the interests
of capital are everywhere one. "The In-
ternational Solidarity of Labor" is not a
dream, an ideal; it is a fact. This then,
is the task in which we ask your help.
What have you to lose? The misery,
the chaotic, senseless, preventable misery
of the present system. You have nothing
to lose but your chains; you have the
world to gain.—T. R., in the Work-
er's Republic, of Dublin.

ECHOES OF THE DEBATE

(Continued from page 1.)

is very interesting to me. I am sorry
that I must decline Mr. Blake's offer to
arbitrate for the following reasons:

"First, the board of arbitration that
he suggests, while very representative
indeed, is not sufficiently large numeri-
cally to suit my fancy. I prefer the
general public of Rockland or elsewhere,
or at least such part of them as would
be willing to listen to the arguments,
pro and con.

"Second, as outlined in the last sen-
tence, I think that I ought to have some
voice in the selection of the court that is
to try the case.

"Last, but not least, as far as I can
see, no board of arbitration can do any-
thing, because one of the parties at in-
terest has pulled the hole in after him.

"As Mr. Blake can see by reference to
the letter of Mr. Devine, and the poem
by J. Q. T. in the same column, he is
mistaken in saying that I challenged Mr.
MacCartney. He is also very much mis-
taken in asserting that he knows me to
be a natural orator and a born debater.
I am an ordinary wage-slave, who, in
his spare time, has made it a business
to find out the whys and the wherefores
of things that the general public takes
for granted without investigation. Among
the things that I found are facts that
give the lie direct to Mr. Blake's
eulogium of Mr. MacCartney. Mr. Blake
says that Mr. MacCartney 'never faltered
in the path of duty,' and by his refer-
ence to Mr. MacCartney as a 'friend of
the workingman,' he would have us be-
lieve that Mr. MacCartney's path of duty
lay in friendship for the workingman.
I will cite two instances of faltering, or
shall I say downright treason, on his
part, towards the workingman. One was
when he wanted to take away two-thirds
of their voting power by trying to make
the term of office of Rockland's board
of selectmen three years instead of one,
as it was and still is, in spite of Mr.
MacCartney.

"Another was sitting mute in his place
in the legislature, and by his silence
giving consent to the invasion of the
rights of the workingmen by Judge
Braley, when he enjoined the Boston
teamsters' union. 'Tis no excuse to say
that Mr. MacCartney, outside of the
legislature, had opposed injunctions; the
place to oppose them is in the legislature,
if you are a member of it.

"I could cite numerous other in-
stances which go to show that if the
workingmen of Rockland have confidence
in Mr. MacCartney, the confidence is very
much misplaced.

"I firmly believe, taking Mr. Blake's
style of writing as a basis, that Mr.
Blake is none other than Patrick
Ahearn, who caused such a furore a few
years ago, and who is now blossoming out
of the obscurity that he retired to, with
a new name. If my surmise in this mat-
ter be correct, I know the gentleman to
be an ardent admirer of Mr. MacCartney,
and I can understand why he tries by
his satire to save his idol from deserved
obloquy. I assure him, whether my sur-
mise is correct or not, that my armor is
proof against all attempts of that kind.
Respectfully yours,

"Jeremiah O'Fihelly."

"Abington, Jan. 12, 1903."

The Rockland Independent, comment-
ing editorially, on February 6, 1903, ob-
serves:

"Jere. O'Fihelly is having considerable
debate on MacCartney, if not with him,
in the Free Press. In his last letter, di-
rected at Cyrus Blake, he charges Mac-
Cartney with 'downright treason to the
workingman,' and comes pretty near
proving it, too."

FREE LECTURES CLEVELAND, O.

Section Cleveland, O., S. L. P., will give
free lectures at their headquarters, 356
Ontario street, top floor, over Ameri-
can Bank, every Sunday afternoon at
2.30 p. m. Discussion to follow.

March 1—"Municipal and Public Own-
ership."

March 8—"The Local Campaign," Paul
Dienger.

March 22—"Pallatives and the Pros-
pects Thereof," John Klischer.

March 29—"The Approaching Election,"
John D. Goerke.

The striking miners in West Virginia
have shown their determination to win
by driving out a marshal to prevent ser-
vice of attachment papers issued by the
United States Court. It would have been
far more discreet and valourous—since dis-
cretion is the better part of valor—to
have begun at the other end, that is, to
have gained control of the courts through
a class-conscious working class political
movement. Then the service of papers
could have been made on the mine own-
ers, instead of the mine workers. As it
is now, they will find the courts backed
by the militia, and they will be taken at
all hazards. In order for the miners to
progress as far as indicated, they must
not end by driving out marshals only.
They must drive out the Mitchells and
all the other labor fakirs who claim
that capital and labor are brothers, with
mutual interests, and thereby induce the
miners to support the courts that per-
secute them. Only then will their determi-
nation be productive of other than bar-
ren results.

On the 7th of this month the saloon
passengers on board the Cunard liner
Etruria were enabled to peruse the first
newspaper on the Atlantic ocean. This
newspaper was made possible by the ad-
vantages offered by the Marconi wireless
telegraphy. No doubt many of the read-
ers of that newspaper belonged to that
class of persons who declare, when it is
proposed to change capitalism to Social-
ism, that "things have always been, and
will always be, as they are." They can-
not realize that the same objection was
made against the possibility of communi-
cating with vessels en route and of pub-
lishing the communications in a news-
paper printed on board of them. To the
persons whose minds are familiar with
the workings of evolution, the printing
of this ocean newspaper is proof that
things are continually undergoing change
and progression and that Socialism is
more than possible, i. e., inevitable.

That the "bread and circuses" of pagan
Rome hold sway in Christian Rome may
be seen from the pope's dinner to the
poor.

MILWAUKEE FREE LECTURES.

Section Milwaukee has arranged the fol-
lowing free lectures:

March 1, 8 p. m.—"Socialism and Poli-
tics," Henry Sale of Chicago.

March 8, 8 p. m.—"The Mission of the
Working Class," Melko Meyer of Detroit.
The above lectures will be held at
Kaiser's Hall, 300 Fourth street. Every-
body is invited, especially the readers of
The People.

Alliance Cigar Factory

—Eckstein Bros.—
517 East Eighty-Eighth St.

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